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ART. I.—*Sketch of a System of the Philosophy of the Human Mind. Part I. Comprehending the Physiology of the Mind.* By THOMAS BROWN, M. D. Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Edinburgh. 8vo. pp. 294. Edinburgh. 1820.

IT cannot be regarded as a proof of the superiority of the present age, that comparatively so little attention is bestowed on intellectual philosophy. In spite of the occasional fluctuations of public taste, we are persuaded, that the science of mind is still destined to take the precedence of all others.

The flippant and superficial remark has been made, and that too by very high authority, that the philosophy of the mind is a useless pursuit, because every one may become his own mental philosopher; that one has only to look within, and he will there find all that the profoundest thinker can acquaint him with. Never was hazarded a bolder or more assailable error than this. Is botany a useless science, because herbs and flowers, enough to fill whole catalogues, may be found within a mile from the cottage of every hard working farmer? Is astronomy a vain pursuit, because every sailor on the watch, by only turning his head upwards, can count the stars moving over him, and mark the courses which they take? Has one man in a thousand the ability to fasten his attention on the operations of his own mind; and do not the occupations, habits, passions, and characters of a large majority of

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mankind lead their thoughts away from themselves, and fix them on external things?

Such being the universal and inevitable lot of humanity, we cannot conceive of a more useful, or directly *practical* employment, than for those individuals, whose opportunities and powers of contemplation permit, to sit in the seclusion of study apart from active engagements, and there to fix their thoughts exclusively on the constitution of the mind; to trace action up to its central sources; to take a full survey of the mental phenomena; to estimate especially the extent of the human powers; to analyse, to describe, to classify every internal property and faculty; to suggest modes of applying them in their proper directions and to their proper objects; in one word, to unfold before the sight of their fellow beings, that which so very few know, what they are, and what they can become.

Now, though there are not many men capable of *originating* these comprehensive, self inspecting surveys and estimates, yet, after they are made, there are large numbers who can read them with enjoyment and profit. It is no small thing to direct a man's attention to *himself;* yet this is effected by the very sight of a book on the mind. The soul for a moment swells before it with the consciousness of its untried and indefinite powers. The contents of most libraries lead one away from one's self. But take such a work as Cogan on the Passions,—though it is rather a dull book, and the author was not equal to his task, which abler hands might have wrought into a treatise almost unequalled in interest and utility,—we think that any common man, who reads this book, will become wiser, better, greater, and happier, and will particularly be convinced that every one cannot be his own intellectual philosopher. Passion, habit, prejudice, wild imagination, unprofitable reverie, wrong directions, and mistaken objects of thought, all which, by stealing encroachments or violent incursions, may be fast wearing away the character, are liable to be arrested in their progress even by a prosing treatise, which shall subject them to a cool analysis, and make the mind familiar with comprehensive descriptions and classifications of them.

We feel justified, on the whole, in laying down the following general results, which may be expected from good treatises

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on mental philosophy. Not to enumerate several advantages, of comparatively subordinate value, such as the mental discipline acquired by the prosecution of the study itself, the very dignity of the subject as a theme of speculation, the accession of a mere appropriate accomplishment, if nothing more, to a well furnished mind, and the like; the *first* unquestionably great advantage is, to make us revolve upon and feel habitually conscious of our powers; a state of mind which necessarily precedes all wise and energetic action. The *second* good result proceeding from this study is, that philosophical self examination smoothes the way directly to moral self examination, which is the nurse of virtue. A *third* effect is to excite sentiments of piety by the contemplation of the most excellent and wonderful of the known works of God.

Such, we maintain, are the general tendencies of this study. But it may be objected that these are too indefinite and untangible, being subjects rather of speculation than of clear demonstration. We may be asked to point out the express and particular achievements of the science of the mind, and to enumerate any newly discovered *intellectual instruments*, so to speak, which have visibly blessed and gladdened the prospects of the species, like the mariner's compass, the chronometer, the safety lamp, the vaccine virus, the steam engine; or any, which have given new power and stimulus to scientific researches, like some of Newton's theorems, the Galvanic battery, or the blow pipe. The *inductive method* of Lord Bacon will, of course, suggest itself here to every reader at all acquainted with our subject; and intellectual philosophers, with the author before us among the number, claim for it the magnificent merit of introducing a revolution not only in their own science, but in every other, and of almost changing the face of the modern earth. But to be candid, we must make a distinction between the inductive method itself, and Bacon's verbal interpretation and proclamation of it. It is the interpretation and proclamation only that truly belong to the science of the mind; the method itself has been more or less operative in all men from time immemorial. It did not depend on a promulgation by Bacon or any one else, whether a right mode of reasoning and philosophising should, in spite of ancient trammels, occasionally

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force itself upon inquisitive and strong understandings. Did Locke and Davy, (names, which we select to represent improvements in the two departments of intellectual and physical science,) did they rely on a divulged and explicit statute of Lord Bacon for the character and success of their researches? No more, we apprehend, than Napoleon fought his way to empire under the influence of an axiom.

In making, however, this large concession, or rather, in drawing this due distinction, we are by no means disposed either to depreciate the actual merit of Lord Bacon's rule, or to disavow the past unequivocal successes of the branch of science in question, or to abandon our hopes of its future indefinite triumphs. Much, certainly, was gained by embodying the inductive method in a preceptive frame, and so suggesting and recommending it to the world. If an earlier start along the true path of science was hereby given to men, than they would otherwise have taken, and if, by the same means, an incalculable expenditure of time and talents has in many cases been saved, these are achievements, which certainly belong to the science of the mind. For we scarcely need contend, that the investigation and laying down of precepts for the prosecution of general science strictly constitutes one department of intellectual philosophy.

But, to take our stand on still more unquestionable ground; supposing all that has been written and said about the principle of *association of ideas* had been suppressed from the very first, and that men had been left to avail themselves of that principle only as nature prompted and experience dictated; can it be conceived, that every individual in the world at this moment would have been equally wise and skilful, equally happy and virtuous? On the contrary, has not the specification and description of this element of our minds, and the perpetual pressing of its existence and uses upon the attention of men, caused it to become a more constant, systematic, and efficient instrument of thought and practice? Of two orators, in other respects equal, which should we most confidently select for the management of a cause, one who has been taught the doctrine of association in all its known relations and effects, or one who only instinctively and unconsciously acts upon it? To us there seems a vast accession of power and resources placed at the disposal of the former. Our own

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convictions are both deliberate and strong, that in the whole body of literature and mental effort at the present day, comprehending alike the speculations of the labored and formal volume, the pulpit, bar, legislative hall, periodical press, ephemeral paragraph, conversation, and solitary thought, no contemptible degree of whatever deep research, true sentiment, accurate rhetoric, and just reasoning, are found to prevail, owes its origin more or less directly to the influence of what has been *said* and *inculcated* respecting right methods of ratiocination, and respecting the proper application of the associating principle.

Who can doubt that individual virtue has been strengthened, and individual happiness increased, by a scientific acquaintance with the principle of association? When gloomy thoughts overshadow and oppress his soul, the well educated man, who happily has not neglected the science of the mind, recollects what he has been taught in books, and in the lecture room, concerning continued trains of ideas, and the power of the associating principle. He, therefore, seizes the assistance of this intellectual instrument to lead his attention towards brighter objects of contemplation, and thus to dissipate his gloom. And this he does with much more avidity and effect, than the untutored son of sorrow, who, unacquainted with the whole nature and extent of the blessed power within him, makes perhaps, or perhaps not, a few faint efforts, which instinct may benevolently prompt, to turn the train of his ideas and feelings, but soon again desperately yields up his soul to its fixed and haunting agony.

We rejoice to believe, that the science we are recommending is frequently found instrumental also in purifying the current of thought, as well as recalling it to its proper channels; that it assists in eluding the suggestions of temptation, in controlling a wayward imagination, in analysing and dissolving prejudices; and that it produces many other similar effects, favorable to virtue and happiness, which would have arisen less certainly and systematically, had the power of the associating principle been left to its own spontaneous operations, unaffected by former scientific speculations, and unaided by the cultivated habit of looking into ourselves.

The very nature of the thing, we confess, forbids us to point out, ocularly, the influence of these intellectual instru-

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ments acting on the minds of men, as one may show the compass in the binnacle, virtually influencing every motion of a ship, and guiding her safely through difficulties and dangers. All that we can do is, to throw out our suggestions and the results of our own experience for what they are worth, and leave them to excite the convictions or dissent of our readers, according to *their* views, experience, and modes of thinking. But if there is any truth in the preceding reflections, the claims of intellectual philosophy are vindicated, and she can boast of her specific instruments, that wield as prodigious a power, and are capable of conferring as exhaustless benefits, as certain more tangible discoveries in the sister department of natural philosophy. Observe, we are careful not to claim for this science the principle of association itself, any more than the principle of reasoning, or of memory, or of imagination. It is only the *formal recognition*, the *verbal statement*, the *didactic exposition*, of these principles, which we understand here by intellectual instruments, and for the positively beneficial influences of which we are taking the trouble to contend.

The topical system of the ancients was such an intellectual instrument, as has been demanded of mental philosophy, and nearly as palpable as the safety lamp. The discovery of it strictly belonged to the genuine science of the mind. The art of Mnemonics may be at present only in its infancy. We hold the expectation of new discoveries and methods in this branch of learning to be as reasonable, as to look for farther knowledge on the subjects of light and heat. For instance, as an humble example, has a general rule been yet laid down, apportioning the quantity of anything to be committed to memory, to the number of times necessary to repeat it, so as to introduce the greatest possible economy of time and labor? If a half page of letter press requires to be only six times read over, in order to be well fixed in the memory, and a whole page seven times, it is manifestly better to divide the task of a whole page into two portions, and thus to save one reading. If, again, a quarter of a page only requires to be repeated five times, a further economy may be obtained by dividing the task into four portions. It is evident, however, that these divisions may be continued so far as to frustrate the purpose of them; for if the page is broken up into portions as small as

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one line each, although each portion could be well remembered at one reading, yet the whole page must be read over seven times as at first, and a loss is thus incurred by carrying the divisions too far. But where is the point at which the divisions may cease, and still allow the smallest possible number of repeated readings? Now a few patient and attentive experiments and calculations, upon a memory of average strength and quickness, might conduct an inquirer to some result or formula on this subject, which should prove as useful to the world as a new algebraic expression in the general doctrine of chances. Who will pretend to limit the possible multiplication of such facts and rules of every kind, connected with all our mental operations? The time may come, when a *grammar or accidence of the mind* shall be put into the hands of youth, on a very extended and improved plan of some of our easy systems of logic, which shall reveal to the opening intellect the extent of its powers, and early teach it the adroit and perfect use of itself, far beyond what is now practised or conjectured by the most accomplished and experienced men. Should it be incredulously asked, if such things can be expected at this late period of the world, we would inquire in return, how long, on the one hand, the species may yet hope to exist, and, on the other, how long the circulation of the blood has been discovered?

A complete system of intellectual philosophy, in all its abstract perfection, necessarily cannot be executed until the full extent of the human powers has been tried in every art and every science, that can possibly develop and employ them. Such a period, it is true, stands at an indefinite distance. But still the remark illustrates and strengthens our position at the outset of this article, that the science of the mind is destined to become the most advanced of all. Approximations to its ideal completeness can be made from time to time, according as the mind of man exhibits new achievements and capacities to serve as materials for this last and highest branch of knowledge. When the mathematician has exhausted his skill in numerical combination, and has invented methods, by which even the relations of infinite quantities can be managed to his purposes, the philosopher of the mind steps in, looks at the point which has been reached, and records it on some page of the intellectual system. When the natural philosopher has

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made every possible experiment on matter, has investigated the affinities of atoms, or taken the weight of worlds, or systematised the laws of motion, or measured the long, long journey of a ray of light from some outer system of the universe, or examined the different properties of opposite sides of that ray, or searched for the lines which divide organized from inorganic substance, and sentient from sluggish life, then the intellectual philosopher comes up to revise the task of his indefatigable agent and forerunner, marking wherein he has triumphed, or wherein he has been baffled, and notes down on the tablet of his own science the strength and the weakness of the human intellect.

When the poet, the orator, the scholar, the reasoner, the historian, the painter, the musician, the sculptor, the architect, with the laborers in every other kindred art or pursuit, have exhausted their powers in affecting the souls of men, now moving them with transports of delight, now stimulating and correcting the progress of thought, now impressing a new character on whole generations, and guiding them to new courses of action, the mental philosopher fails not, with observant eye, to follow after these varied achievements, and transfers them to his chapter of the influences of mind upon mind. It is equally a branch of his vocation to watch the *spontaneous* movements of individual and collective man; to trace the changes of opinion, custom, character; to observe what is universally pleasing or displeasing; in short, to note and record the operations and affections of the general mind. When hundreds of solitary thinkers have turned their attention inwards to survey the operations of their own individual intellect, compared with what they know of others, and have classified, as well as the evanescent and impalpable nature of the subject will permit, those laws of thought and emotion, that may be gathered from their combined internal experience and foreign observation, at length some master philosopher of the mind avails himself of the labors of his predecessors, and employs their recorded results to mould into a new frame and aspect this keystone of the sciences. When sciences, which are now unthought of, shall arise and be carried to perfection, calling forth mental powers as yet unexerted and unknown, and when perhaps new combinations and exhibitions of moral excellence shall brighten the face of society, the faithful phi-

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losopher of the intellect will stand ready to arrange these freshly created materials in his ever growing system. Thus, the Science of the Mind, though susceptible of perpetual advances, must necessarily be the last to arrive at perfection. Its elements partly consist of the results of all the other sciences. It is waiting to see what man can do and suffer, for its own business is to record and classify it. We cannot conceive of the final step of its march on earth; its present incipient existence here thus constituting a new proof of a future state of being. Like the leading and essential virtue of Christianity, it *never faileth*, not even when prophecies fail, and tongues cease, and subordinate systems of knowledge vanish away.

It is high time to cease confounding the science of the mind with Metaphysics. This word, by common use, has now imperceptibly acquired a new signification, no longer to be found in the dictionaries, and no longer expressive of a distinct science. We will try to explain and fix its present general acceptation. Metaphysics is that which ascribes imaginary and plausible causes to existing appearances, and speculates upon the nature of what is hidden and unknown. We would distinguish it from Philosophy, inasmuch as philosophy *ascertains* the causes of phenomena, and learns from *experience* the properties of things. Metaphysics will be found to enter more or less into every department of learning. When Newton discovered and applied the law of gravitation, he was, strictly speaking, the philosopher. When he ascribed that gravitation to the influence of a subtle, etherial fluid, pervading all bodies, (though the theory almost prophetically accorded with some things, which we now know respecting electricity,) he was only the metaphysician. When Haüy unfolded the mechanical composition of crystals, and even demonstrated the necessary forms of their ultimate particles, he acted the part of a philosopher; but in attempting to account for the transmission of light through them, one might theorise ever so plausibly, and still be nothing more than a metaphysician. When Locke divided our ideas into those of sensation and reflection, although his division might have been incomplete or even redundant, yet, being a classification of known phenomena, it was perfectly philosophical. But when he accounted for our sensations of different colors by the

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emission of differently shaped atoms from the surfaces of bodies, he was metaphysical. When the Edinburgh Review traced the influence of French literature upon the poetry of the English Augustan age, it was convincingly philosophical; but, at another time, in accounting for the pleasure derived from Mr Campbell's poetry, it worked itself up into a fit of beautiful metaphysical frenzy.

Philosophy reasons rightly from right data; the reasoning, or the data, or both, of metaphysics, may be either right or wrong. A spice of metaphysics in a man's mind is a very good thing; in some writers a slight mixture of it has made many an author popular. It flatters the reader's own consciousness of being profound, and it stimulates his imagination to ascribe uncommon resources to the writer. Most men of genius are not without the metaphysical characteristic. It is the pioneer to discoveries of unknown relations among things. To improve any science, or to break into any original track of thought, one must have some tendency towards this quality. All the great chemists we ever heard of have been endued with the metaphysical impetus. It is conjecture, and fancy, and refined curiosity, which prompt them to experiment, and it is not until they confirm by fact even the most sagacious of their conjectures, that they are honored with the name of philosophers. The science of electricity, if we may strictly call it science, is at this moment half philosophy and half metaphysics. The science of the mind was once almost entirely metaphysics, and rightly bore that name, which it still erroneously bears, though very much purified from the admixture. Aristotle, however, mingled a good deal of philosophy with the science. His followers, and the schools of later date, made it nearly all metaphysics again. Des Cartes and Malebranche began to restore it to its proper balance, but were still too inveterate metaphysicians to produce the requisite equilibrium. Locke combined the metaphysical and the philosophical attributes to an enviable degree. Hence the improvements in this science which are dated from him. His followers of the French school, together with Berkeley and Hume, Hartley and Priestley, made very few real advances, in consequence of the undue preponderance of metaphysics in their speculations.

The Scotch school, so called, vibrated with too forcible a reaction to the opposite extreme. Reid and Stewart were

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great philosophers, and it is impossible to rise from the study of their works without large improvement and gratitude; and nature undoubtedly formed them to be also great metaphysicians. They wanted not invention, wing, or acumen. But they fastidiously and conscientiously folded up their excursive powers, or only opened them to brood over the chaos in which the science of the mind lay darkening beneath them. They struck out from the mass no brilliant revolving orb. This peculiarity, we apprehend, is the cause of a considerable depression of their original reputation, and has emboldened the critics to intrude upon Mr Stewart's weary and honorable retreat, with asking, what he has done? An insatiable world is not contented with seeing the old cumbrous rubbish removed from the path of science, though the labor is performed, like that of Virgil's swain, in ever so elegant a manner. To the disappointment experienced with regard to the Scotch school of mental philosophers, from whom so much was expected, and who were supposed to be making a last grand experiment, we ascribe the unmerited neglect, which has been paid to the works of the late Dr Brown. But it is a neglect which will not continue. Every year will increase the number of his readers. He had the happiness of combining the genius of the severest inductive philosophy with an adventurous metaphysical spirit, which Bacon himself neither by precept nor example condemned.

The little volume before us was published a short time previous to the death of its author. It comprehends the outlines only of one portion of his whole course of lectures.* About

* We understand that the metaphysical, or rather physiological portion of Dr Brown's Lectures has lately been introduced as a classic manual at Harvard University. We trust it will be regarded as respectfully cooperating only, and not interfering with this laudable arrangement, if we suggest a substitution of Dr Brown's own 'Sketch' in the room of his extended Lectures. It is a thin, portable volume happily drawn up. It contains all that essentially and strictly belongs to the subject of the corresponding Lectures. It is generally broken into short manageable paragraphs, of convenience both to teacher and pupils. It avoids the numerous quotations, unending repetitions, and diffused amplifications of the larger work. It is equally as clear and intelligible as that; perhaps more so. It was intended for publication. The Lectures were left incompletely prepared. In every point of view we should think the 'Sketch' a preferable Text Book. If reprinted in our country, a neat edition could not exceed in price one dollar. A teacher might illustrate from the larger work whatever should appear deficient in the smaller, and the pupil would read with heightened pleasure the Lectures, after becoming familiar with the abstract.

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the close of the same year the *Lectures* appeared in Edinburgh, as a posthumous publication in four volumes, and have since been reprinted in our own country. At some future period we hope to call the attention of our readers more particularly to this latter work; and in the mean time, our present observations will be found to apply as strictly to the first half or more of Dr Brown's *Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind* as to the volume before us, which the author, with his own decaying hand, abstracted from them.

According to the extensive scope of the views of Dr Brown, the Philosophy of the Human Mind comprehends the following subjects.

I. Mental Physiology.
II. General Ethics.
III. Politics.
IV. Natural Theology.

We will proceed to unfold, in the first place, the author's favorite science of *Mental Physiology*.

The object of all physical inquiry is twofold. We either attempt to ascertain the constituent coexisting elements of substances, as we find them at any given moment, and as they compose an apparently *continuous whole*, or we consider them as the subjects, or as the agents of those *changes*, which constitute the physical *events* of the system of the world. What is this piece of glass? If we consider it merely as a *continuous whole*, our answer will be, that it is *a compound of alkaline and siliceous matter*. But if we consider it as the agent or the subject of *changes*, we speak of its refractive powers, its fusibility at a certain temperature, its resistance to dissolution by the common powerful acids, and the like. In short, we consider the substances, into the nature of which we inquire, in these two lights alone, *as they exist in space, or as they exist in time*.

The foregoing views are applied by the author to the physiology of the mind. We know neither the essential substance of matter nor of mind; but the author maintains that the phenomena of thought and feeling have the same relation to the unknown internal essence of the substance mind, which a brittle or a fusible state has to that of the substance glass, or which any sensible properties whatever have to that of the

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substance in which they inhere. All these various phenomena of thought and feeling he regards as nothing more than *modifications*, or *affections*, or *states* of the mind, which is a simple, uniform principle. They may be *complex*, like the properties of matter, and so be susceptible of analysis, or they may be the agents and the subjects of innumerable *changes* among each other, and so sustain the reciprocal relation of causes and effects.

In conformity to these statements, the author proposes, in the first place, to institute a strict *mental analysis*, a department of philosophy which he complains has hitherto been much neglected. Some of our mental phenomena are evidently *simple*, as the feeling of pain, the sensation of color, and that of sound. Others again are *complex*, or composed of different simple states of the mind, as we shall soon see to be the case with Appetite, and other feelings. What the chemist does in *matter*, the intellectual analyst does in *mind*. His object is to develop the elements of any complex sentiment or emotion, and to show that it virtually bears the same relation of seeming *comprehensiveness* to those several elements, that is borne by a piece of glass to the various separate elements to which it is reduced by the chemist.

In commencing his introspective analysis, Dr Brown seizes hold of *Memory* as the handle and instrument of all his inquiries. On this faculty itself he scarcely bestows either definition, description, or analysis. He assumes it at once as the *Δος που στω* of his whole system. Let us then for the present grant him Memory, if by this single mystery he promises to solve all other mysteries.

The first fortress of old error, against which he marches with this simple talisman, is *Consciousness*. He attacks this first, since all the varieties of those everchanging feelings, which form the subjects of his inquiry, are referred to it. He maintains that it is no *distinct power* of the mind, as it has always been supposed to be. He rigorously denies that at one and the same moment you can have a sensation or an idea, and also have a separate simultaneous feeling of *consciousness* about it. In the very next instant *after* the sensation or the idea, however, you have the *memory* of it. With the memory, moreover, you have an *intuitive belief*, that you, who just now had the sensation or idea, are the same indivi-

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dual being, who have the remembrance of it now. Thus, between the sensation itself, the remembrance of it, and the intuitive belief of personal identity, away slips *Consciousness* into thin air!

On the subject of personal identity, Dr Brown most admirably argues, that no process of reasoning can ever demonstrate it, because the very essence of every argument consists in the circumstance, that the mind, which adopts the conclusion, irresistibly believes itself to be the same mind which held the premises. Thus this belief rises above all argument, or rather, is the foundation of every reasoning process. It follows directly, that since no argument can proceed a step without it, the belief itself is *intuitive*, and stands on the same footing with the proposition, that *the whole is greater than a part.*

Our author gives many other less abstract, but not less conclusive arguments to prove the same thing, and replies to several other popular objections.

By personal identity he strictly and solely means the identity of a single principle, which feels and thinks. He combats with united argument and ridicule the notion of certain philosophers, that strict personal identity can be affected by any corporeal changes whatever, and shows that the delusion has lain in the double use of the word *person*, as sometimes signifying the thinking principle alone, and sometimes that and the body united.

We have thus far considered only the phenomena of the mind *in general;* consciousness and personal identity evidently involving all states of the mind alike. The author now proceeds to consider them in the separate *classes* in which they may be arranged. Dismissing as incomplete and inaccurate all former arrangements of them into powers of the *understanding* and of the *will*, and into *intellectual* and *active* powers, and so forth, he proceeds to a new distribution. The following remarks on this design appear to us very just, and constitute at once a powerful recommendation of the author's labors, as well as justification of our own humble efforts in reporting them.

'A new classification, therefore, which includes, in its generic character, those qualities, [which former classifications have neglected,] will of course draw to them attention, which they could not

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otherwise have obtained; and the more various the views are, which we take of the objects of any science, the juster consequently, because the more equal, will be the estimate which we form of them. So truly is this the case, that I am convinced, that no one has ever read over the mere terms of a new division in a science, however familiar the science may have been to him, without learning more than this new division itself,—without being struck with some property or relation, the importance of which he *now* perceives most clearly, and which he is quite astonished that he should have overlooked so long before.' *Lect.* 16.

The following is the *principle* of the author's new classification.

The *causes*, or immediate antecedents of the various mental phenomena, are either *foreign to the mind*, or they *belong to the mind itself*. A change of mental state is either produced by a change in our *bodily* organs, or, without any cause external to itself, *one* state of mind is the immediate result of a *former* state of mind, in consequence of those laws of succession of thoughts and feelings, which were established by the Creator himself.

In conformity with this distinction, he makes his *first division* of the phenomena of the mind, into its *external* and *internal* affections. The class of *internal affections*, by far the most copious and various of the two, he subdivides into two great orders, our *intellectual* states of mind, and our *emotions*.

We have sensations or perceptions of the objects that affect our bodily organs; these he terms the sensitive or *external affections* of the mind. Then again we remember objects, we imagine them in new situations, we compare their relations; these he terms the *intellectual states* of the mind. Once more, we are *moved* with certain *lively feelings*, on the *consideration* of what we thus *perceive*, or *remember*, or *imagine*, or *compare;* with feelings, for example, of beauty, or sublimity, or astonishment, or love, or hate, or hope, or fear. These, and various other vivid feelings analogous to them, are our *emotions*.

Under the *external affections* of the mind, the author comprehends not only all those phenomena, or states of mind, which are commonly termed *sensations*, but also all our internal organic feelings of pleasure or pain, that arise from states of the nervous system, as much as our other sensations.

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Many of these are commonly ranked under another head, that of *appetites*, such as *hunger*, *thirst*, the *desire* of *repose*, or of change of *muscular position*, which follows long continued exertion; the oppressive anxiety, which arises from impeded respiration, and various other diseases, the effect of bodily uneasiness. And here occurs a characteristic instance of our author's peculiar powers of abstract analysis; an instance, if we mistake not, equally as acute, and more luminously convincing than that, which before attempted the resolution of the supposed power of *consciousness*. These *appetites*, he says, evidently admit of being analysed into *two distinct elements*, a *pain* of a peculiar species, and a subsequent *desire of that which is to relieve the pain*, states of mind, of which one may immediately succeed the other; but which are, unquestionably, as different in themselves, as if no such succession took place. The pain, which is one element of the appetite, is an *external* affection of the mind, to be classed with our other sensations; the succeeding desire, which is another element of it, is an *internal* affection of the mind, to be classed with our other emotions of desire. The truth is, we give one name to the combination of the two feelings, in consequence of their being so *universally* and *immediately* successive. Still, in every case, the *pain* is felt before the *desire* of relief is felt, and two states of mind manifestly compose what an imperfect analysis has hitherto presumed to be but one. All imaginable objections to these views the author arrays and removes, and we recommend the whole of these speculations [Lecture XVII.] as one of the most delightful portions of the larger work.

Besides those particular feelings of bodily uneasiness, which, as attended with desire, constitute our *appetites*, there are *other* affections of the *same class*, which, though not usually ranked with our external sensations or perceptions, because we find it difficult to ascribe them to any local organ, are unquestionably to be arranged under the same head; since they are feelings which arise as immediately and directly from a certain state of a part of the nervous system, as any of the feelings which we more commonly ascribe to *external sense*. Of this kind is that muscular pleasure of *alacrity* and *action*, which forms so great a part of the delight of the young of every species of living beings; and which is felt, though in a

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less degree, at every period of life, even the most advanced; or which, when it ceases in age, only gives place to another species of muscular pleasure, that which constitutes the *pleasure of ease*, the same species of feeling which doubles to every one the delight of exercise, by sweetening the repose to which it leads, and thus making it indirectly as well as directly a source of enjoyment.

With respect, farther, to our *muscular feelings*, the author observes, that though many of them may be almost unnoticed by us during the influence of stronger sensations, they are yet sufficiently powerful, when we attend to them, to render us, independently of sight and touch, in a great measure sensible of the position of our *body in general*, and of its *various parts*; and, comparatively indistinct as they are, they become in many cases, (as in the acquired perceptions of vision, for example, and equally too in various other instances, in which little attention has been paid to them by philosophers,) *elements* of some of the nicest and most accurate judgments which we form.

On the whole, although our author does not formally lay down a sixth sense in addition to the ancient enumeration, he certainly presents some very strong considerations in favor of ranking our *muscular feelings* as a distinct, peculiar, and independent order of sensations.

The pains of appetite, our muscular feelings, and all other mental states of this class, the author appropriately denominates in his system, the *Less* Definite External Affections of Mind.

Having treated of these, he proceeds to what he ranks as the *More* Definite External Affections of Mind, which comprehend the feelings more commonly termed *sensations*, and universally ascribed to *five particular organs of sense*.

On this subject our author transfers the celebrated theory of Berkeley, as to our *acquired perceptions of vision*, to the information given us by our *other senses*. In the case of *sound*, there is a very evident analogy to our acquired visual perceptions; since a constant reference to *place* mingles with our sensations of this class, in the same manner, though not so distinctly, as in our perceptions of sight. We perceive the sound, as it were, *near* or at a *distance*, in one direction rather

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than in another. But what should originally inform the infant, that the voice he hears in the next room is nearer than the voice, which sounds to him from the distance of five hundred feet? Experience, derived from his other senses, alone teaches him, in process of time, to judge with immediate and unfailing precision. The other senses the author also holds to be more or less under the same influence.

Respecting the *corporeal* part of the process of *perception*, all that is known of it the author acknowledges, is, that *certain affections of the nervous system, including the brain, precede immediately certain affections of the mind.* As to the nature of the connexion between these antecedents and consequents, he thinks it never will be ascertained, and he dismisses the consideration altogether from his philosophy. The various specific affections of the nervous system, as it is spread from the brain to all the organs of sense, and indeed through every part of the body, are known; the various and corresponding affections of the mind, which follow them, are also known. With these facts taken for granted, the author proceeds in his task of analysing our complicated, organic, and corresponding mental affections, and discovering and estimating the whole degree and body of knowledge, together with the intricate and often fugitive process of acquiring it, which they furnish of the *external world*, in which external world he includes even our organs of sense themselves.

He argues at great length, that our five senses alone are in themselves insufficient to give us any knowledge or belief of an external world of matter. In justice to him, let it be borne in mind, that he lays down the essential and constituent elements of our idea of matter to be only two, namely, *Resistance* and *Extension*. Sight, sound, smell, taste, touch, meaning by *touch*, only the sensation connected with the superficial exterior integument that surrounds the muscular system, he contends, are nothing more than *states of mind*, which we might experience forever, without thinking of ascribing them to anything foreign from ourselves, in like manner as we never ascribe any of our internal joys or sorrows to an external cause. Whence then do we obtain our notion of something *out* of ourselves, and whence do we obtain a knowledge of *matter?* All our information on these points he would derive, originally, from our *muscular feelings*

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alone. With the experience gained from these muscular feelings, the operations of the five senses are so perpetually, universally, and intimately associated, as to make *the senses* appear the original sources of the knowledge in question. We decline going over the grounds on which Dr Brown undertakes to remove the delusion, attacking each sense by itself, particularly that of simple *touch*, and stripping them all of their long asserted and allowed pretensions on this score.

But though we are so indulgent as to spare our readers this merely preparatory discussion, they need not think to resist, while we lead them, as we now shall do, into the very central labyrinth of the speculations of our metaphysical Dædalus. Presuming that he has proved the senses to have no original concern in conveying to us the idea of an external world, he transfers at once the seat of discussion to the very region of the muscles themselves, leaving the five senses far behind in the custody of Aristotle, Mr Locke, Dr Reid, and the rest of the whole body of his pondering predecessors. With a species of indagation altogether characteristic of himself, or, we might say, of himself and Dr Darwin, he carries us back to the first semi-instinctive movements of an infant's muscles. He watches its repeatedly and gradually opening and closing fingers, until a solid body is interposed within its little grasp, which impedes the accustomed muscular contractions. It is now, that the infant acquires, as our author maintains, the first real and original notion of '*outness*,' of something foreign to himself, of something which is not himself. Those petty muscular motions he feels to be all his own; but the moment that *resistance* to them takes place, he ascribes the new sensation to a foreign cause.

Here we pause to interpose a stricture. Dr Brown appears to us not to have carried his analysis quite far enough to be perfectly consistent with himself. If an interruption of the child's muscular motions is sufficient to give it a notion of *outness*, why, for a like reason, is not an interruption of its gazing on a bright object sufficient to give it the same notion? But this the author will not allow; since, as we have seen, he denies that from mere sight alone we can acquire the least belief or idea of an external world. Now he has not told us what there is peculiar to the child's muscular feelings, the

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interruption of which should draw its thoughts out of itself, more than an interruption of the exercise of its visual faculties. He does indeed in one place, we believe, obscurely hint, that as the muscular motions of the child *originate from himself, and continue by his own will,* whereas the sight of the bright object comes without any effort on his part, continues without his volition, and is withdrawn without resisting his will at all, this difference between the two kinds of interruption is sufficient to account, in the former case, for the child's having a notion of something foreign from himself, while in the other, there is nothing more than a mere succession of natural *feelings* or *states* passing through his mind. But the author neither places much emphasis on this distinction, nor brings it forward frequently, which he would certainly have done had he relied much on it. Nor are we willing to admit it as a sufficient explanation of the difficulty in question. For aught we can discern, the child's muscular motion may be stopped, and even his will resisted, and yet the feelings resulting from such interruptions shall still be nothing more than so many simple *states of mind* succeeding one another, like phantasmagorial pictures, without the necessity of his referring them to anything abroad.

How then shall this chasm be filled up in our author's investigation? We would say thus. The child, we apprehend, never begins to adopt the belief of anything external to himself until he perceives that some accustomed object of gratification is *out of his immediate reach,* and requires him to originate a voluntary locomotion in order to recover it. Indeed, all that can be understood of an external world, at any period of our lives, is simply that which we cannot reach, and over which we can have no control, except by moving the body or the hand from its usual position. We allow, with our author, that muscular pressure gives almost even the newborn infant a perfect notion of one element of our complex idea of matter, that is, *resistance.* But we think Dr Brown should have stopped there. He should not so gratuitously have coupled the notion of Outness with that of Resistance. The former we conceive to be attained even not until long after the idea of Extension is attained. We conceive our author to be thus misled in the very way against which he is constantly guarding his readers, and to be betrayed into that

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defective analysis, which he complains of in former philosophers. In subsequent life, the perpetual and close connexion between our ideas of something resisting and of something external has induced him to suppose, that they both spring up together in the infant's mind. But we believe we have learned in his own school to question our teacher, and to discern some other source of the peculiar notion in question.

The etymological meaning of the word *external*, and indeed every meaning which is ever attached to it, implies a *change or difference of place*. As long as the child is locally at rest, sensations of a thousand varieties, 'states of mind' both internal and external, may throng upon him in successive waves, and yet all appear to be as much parts of himself as any spontaneous pain or pleasure within. No matter whether it is a smell, or a sight, or a sound, or a feeling of resistance, or a thwarting of his will, or any other feeling, which begins and terminates *at or in himself;* we regard all these feelings as exactly on the same level with respect to the point under consideration. But it is the *separation* of the resisting and extended object from himself, it is the *withdrawment* of something out of his power, it is the *dropping* of the rattle out of his hand, it is the *removal* of the fount of infant life from his lips, that reveals to him the secret of something foreign to himself, and convinces him that all existence is not involved in his own, and teaches him the first of that long series of lessons, which he is to be learning through life, comprehending the whole variety of local relations in which he stands to outward things, from the spoon that approaches to and recedes from his mouth, to the remotest star whose distance can be scarcely reached even by the imagination.

We are the more confirmed in our proposed amendment of the author's doctrine, by perceiving a conscious embarrassment and sense of something wanting, which appears all along in his endeavors to account for the original notion of an external world. He thrusts it in headlong and by a kind of slight of hand with the idea of Resistance. (See the whole of the Lecture incorrectly numbered XXIII.) He does not seem to us to be quite satisfied with his own account of it. Nor do we wonder. He explicitly says, (Lect. XXVI, incorrectly numbered XXV,) that when a body is first grasped in infancy, the *cause* of the new sensation is believed to be

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something different from our sentient self, '*because it breaks an accustomed series of feelings.*' At the moment he was writing this, he must have felt, that he would not allow this effect to be produced in the infant's mind by the breaking of an accustomed series of *visual* or *auditory* feelings. The truth is, he might, as we fondly apprehend, have avoided all embarrassment and inconsistency, if he had shown, first, how the child acquires a notion of resistance; secondly, how it acquires a notion of extension; and, thirdly, how it superadds to these combined notions a conception of *outness*, which we have endeavored to explain.

As a farther proof that the author was far from having arrived at definite and established views on this subject in his Lectures, we would observe, that in the corresponding portion of the Outlines, on which his last labors were spent, he lays down two definitions of Matter, into each of which he introduces the notion of Outness, although in the Lectures he had formally enumerated Resistance and Extension merely, and had considered the other ingredient only incidentally, and irregularly, and as if he hardly knew what to do with the thing. One of the definitions alluded to is this; 'Matter is that which is without us, which has parts, which resists our efforts to compress it.' The other equivalent definition is, 'Outness, Extension, Resistance, are thus mingled in one complex feeling; and these, in our conception, are matter.' *Sketch*, pp. 106, 110. Very well. Here he has advanced a considerable step, by explicitly laying down three separate elements in our notion of matter. Yet he still continues to derive two of them from the same source, or rather to make the notions of Outness and Resistance precisely connate. We wonder it did not occur to him, that the feeling of Resistance is no more necessarily connected with the feeling of something external, than is the feeling of pain, or the feeling of whiteness. We are persuaded, that had the author lived, he would have perceived a totally new and subsequent origin for the reference, by the child, of his combined notion of resistance and extension, to an external system of things. That origin, we trust, we have pointed out. But to go back on the track of Dr Brown.

The infant has now acquired his notion of Resistance. It remains to be seen how the other element of our idea of mat-

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ter, namely, the notion of Extension, is obtained by this miniature metaphysician.

The little fingers before mentioned gradually close and open, close and open, close and open, until the child has a notion of the length of time it requires to shut his finger down upon the palm of his hand; meaning by length of time, the accustomed *succession* of different feelings attendant on each gradual contraction of the muscle. On the interposition of the resisting object, as before described, and the consequent interruption of the muscular contraction, the child, according to our author, has a notion of the *remaining length of time*, which it would have taken for the finger to arrive at the palm of the hand. Immediately the interposed object becomes a *representative* of this remaining length of time. If the diameter of the object interposed be small, the remaining length of time will be proportionably small, and consequently the infant's notion of the length of the interposed object corresponds. If the diameter be large, there is a corresponding reverse in the infant's idea, in consequence of the larger *remaining length of time*. Thus *length*, with our author, in its true, original, and significant acceptation, indicates only *time*, and is transferred metaphorically from time to longitudinal extension. This doctrine he confirms by a number of reasonings, facts, and experiments.

Allowing, then, that the infant derives his notion of the length of an object from the remaining time which that object intercepts, as above described, the next question is, as to the origin of his notion of *breadth*, which is the other element of our author's idea of extension. When, after obtaining an idea of a particular length from *one* finger alone, a *second* closes, or rather the *two* close together, and are interrupted by the same object, the infant has an idea of two separate, concurring, coexisting lengths. When three, when four, close together, he has the idea of three, of four, separate, concurring, coexisting lengths. And what is this but the idea of *breadth*?

Dr Brown allows that nothing can be more vague, indistinct, and imperfect, than the earliest notions, which the child thus acquires of the elements of extension. But every instant that he is awake, he is making new experiments; his muscles never are at rest; the imperfection of one experiment is cor-

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rected by the next; and, particularly, other muscles besides those of the hands and fingers are put in motion; the experiments of the arm *in every direction* extend and confirm those of the smaller members, and the mere muscular perceptions of the child are thus growing more and more distinct and definite every day.

All these muscular operations and feelings are, by the constitution of our frames, so closely connected with accompanying *tactual* sensations, that the latter habitually become representatives of the former, and we are led to believe that we measure dimensions by *touch* alone, when it is only a secondary and subordinate instrument in the business.

We are mistaken if every reader will not allow much truth and originality in these speculations, whatever may be thought of the accuracy of some of the details, and however near they may occasionally seem to border on the ludicrous. We have no hesitation in ascribing new and important discoveries to Dr Brown, in this department of mental physiology. We fear not frankly and gratefully to avow our obligations to him for extending and enlightening the domain of our knowledge, with respect to subjects that must necessarily be near and familiar to us through the whole course of life. Let any one, after becoming familiar with these speculations upon the instrumentality of our muscular system, in conveying to us a knowledge of the external world, betake himself to Dr Reid's 'Inquiry into the Human Mind,' particularly to his chapter on Touch, and he will at once be convinced of the extraordinary meagreness of his own former views, and be gratified with the new and permanent light, which has here been thrown on the intellectual economy.

From these speculations on the manner in which we acquire a belief of the external world, a very natural transition is made to the theory of Berkeley, who denies the existence of matter, and holds the universe to be only a combination of ideas. The skeptical systems, which have been erected on this doctrine, owe their plausibility to his assumed fundamental error, that *ideas can exist separately from the mind.* Dr Brown's simple principle, that ideas are nothing more than *the mind itself existing in certain states*, would have saved a world of perplexing skepticism and unprofitable controversy.

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Several lectures are devoted to the refutation of Dr Reid's pretensions, who, as many of our readers know, has enjoyed the glory of irrefragably demonstrating the existence of an external world against the skeptical reasonings of Hume and other Pyrrhonists. As to the main point of dispute between Dr Reid and Mr Hume, our author declares it to be entirely imaginary, since the skeptic himself, after all his refined reasonings to the contrary, allows it to be impossible not to believe in an external world, which very proposition, forsooth, is the grand artillery that Dr Reid leads against his opponent with so much parade; both the disputants maintaining with equal earnestness, for their own purposes, that the existence of an external world can never be proved *by argument*.

In the course of these discussions, we have another instance of the same acute analysis, which we have already seen exhibited on the subjects of *appetite* and *consciousness*. Dr Reid had made great use of *Perception*, which, with former philosophers, he considered a distinct and unique faculty of the mind, that, immediately upon sensation taking place, acquainted us with the objects without. Dr Brown proves this to be a cumbrous addition to the mental apparatus. The two elements to which he reduces this supposed faculty, are, first, a sensation, and next, a mere reference by the associating principle to some extended, resisting substance, which we have before known only by sensation. Thus, between sensation and association, *perception* escapes off into impalpable shade! The author, however, allows it to be a convenient term to express the complex process above analysed, but denies that there is any such separate and single faculty of the mind. Whoever chooses to see Dr Reid's fame still farther lowered in several particulars, may be amply gratified in consulting the relentless pages of our author.

In analysing the feelings ascribed to Vision, Dr Brown claims to have made considerable extensions and improvements upon the wonderful discoveries of Berkeley. That philosopher, together with his successors, had confined his demonstrations to the *distance* and *magnitude* of objects alone. They still thought that we perceive the visible *figures* of bodies by an immediate and original shape, that presents itself to the 'mind's eye' as well as the body's. Our author, how-

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ever, maintains, that our only immediate sensation in the case is that of *color*, and nothing more; color, without even extension. This color is by long and varied experience intimately associated with our tactual and muscular feelings of extension and figure, and therefore suggests them. It is true, the rays of light form images on the retina; and so do odorous particles from a small flower undoubtedly form a distinct figure as they reach the olfactory organ. But the author maintains, that in neither case does the mind immediately perceive the figure of the external object. He also exhibits many incongruities and inconsistencies involved in the common belief, and we recommend his twenty ninth Lecture, in which these speculations occur, as a rare piece of delectably hard reading, and of ingenious and staggering argumentation.

We have now exhibited a sketch of our author's remarks on the class of our External Affections of the Mind considered *simply*. But it is not always simply that they exist. They often occur in combination with other feelings. It is therefore to these complex states of the mind that he next proceeds.

He applies his penetrating analysis here to Attention, which has been supposed to be a separate and simple faculty of the mind. This too dissolves at the touch of his wand. What is Attention? It is but a *continued desire* to know more vividly and distinctly than before, any objects of our perception, accompanied always by such a voluntary, fixed contraction of the requisite muscles, as shall enable the object to act with the greatest power on whatever sense we are employing. Now Desire is only one of the simple *emotions* of the mind. The author lays it down as an ultimate law of our mental constitution, that all our emotions tend to give the objects of perception an increased vividness and distinctness. And it is to this law, therefore, that he traces the peculiar effects of what is called Attention in making objects more vivid and distinct. But, between the desire, which is a common and well known emotion of the mind, and the consequent muscular contraction, which is an affection of the body, what becomes of the unique *faculty* of Attention? It is not, as has always been supposed, a *simple mental state*, but a process or a combination of feelings.

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Here closes the consideration of the External Affections of the Mind. Next in order of discussion follow the Internal Affections. These were before subdivided into Intellectual States and Emotions.

The Intellectual States are reduced into two classes, the Phenomena of *Simple Suggestion*, and the Phenomena of *Relative Suggestion*.

By Simple Suggestion is meant the readiness of certain feelings or conceptions to arise, after certain other feelings or conceptions in trains of longer or shorter continuance. Thus a house suggests the person who lives in it; that person suggests the profession that he follows; the profession suggests a multitude of men; the multitude suggests a whole country; the country the government, and so forth. Such a train of indefinite length may evidently take place in the mind, without any *relation* being observed between its successive links. Our Emotions may also constitute links in this train. The author gives good reasons for preferring the term Suggestion to Association.

Next, by the phenomena of Relative Suggestion, are implied our feelings of a different order, that arise when two or more objects are contemplated together, feelings of their agreement, or difference, or proportion, or some one or other of the variety of their *relations*. Though at first sight this classification of our Intellectual States may appear to be excessively simplified, yet the author is confident, that all the intellectual powers, of which writers on this branch of science speak, are only modes of these *two*, as they exist *simply*, or as they exist *in combination with some desire more or less permanent*.

The laws, which regulate simple suggestion, are reduced to three; Resemblance or Analogy; Contrast; and Contiguity in time or place. If one feeling or idea *resemble* another, it may suggest it. If it be of an *opposite* description to another, it may suggest it. If it has been felt by us before in local or momentary contiguity with another, it may suggest it. Whoever will watch the trains of thought and feeling that pass through his own mind will perceive, that they follow each other in endless succession, only according to one or another of these three laws. By a great refinement of analysis, the author believes that he might reduce them all to one; but he retains this obvious and tangible division, for the purpose of

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more distinctly exhibiting the various characteristics of the mind.

The difference between genius and mediocrity he places in this. The simple suggestions of genius are those generally of resemblance or analogy. But if a man's suggestions are commonly those of proximity in time or place, he is but a creeping, ordinary person. We cannot give the author's splendid, varied, and extended illustrations of this distinction.

The above three primary laws of simple suggestion are, however, very much modified and affected in their operation by several circumstances, which the author denominates the Secondary Laws of Suggestion, and which he reduces to the nine following classes. He finds that our suggestions are various according as the original feelings which they revive were, first, of longer or shorter continuance; secondly, more or less lively; thirdly, more or less frequently present; fourthly, more or less recent; fifthly, more or less pure from the mixture of other feelings; sixthly, that they vary according to differences of original constitution; seventhly, according to differences of temporary emotion; eighthly, according to changes produced in the state of the body; and, ninthly, according to general tendencies produced by prior habits.

The illustration of these secondary laws, occupying the thirty seventh Lecture, presents an elegant specimen of original, true, and beautiful philosophy.

In defence of his substitution of the word Suggestion for Association, the author objects to the latter, as implying some previous link or bond of connexion between the mental feelings said to be associated. His greatest and plainest argument against such a supposition is, that an object, *seen for the first time*, suggests many new conceptions; which renders the notion of any former association purely absurd. His philosophy pretends to go no farther than the *simple fact* of the rise of one mental feeling from the occurrence of another, while the common phraseology *introduces a new mystery*, and even involves, as he shows, unavoidable absurdities. That our suggestions do not follow each other loosely and confusedly is no proof, he contends, of prior associations in the mind but merely of the *general constitutional tendency of the mind* to exist, successively, *in states that have certain relations to each other.*

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Then follows a series of some of his most brilliant achievements. Former philosophers have been at considerable pains in enumerating and describing various intellectual powers, such as Conception, Memory, Recollection, Fancy, Imagination, Habit, and the like. Dr Brown proposes to show, that this variety of powers is unnecessarily and unphilosophically devised, and would reduce them to the principle of *simple suggestion;* or, at least, to this simple principle, in combination with some of those other principles, which were pointed out, as parts of our mental constitution, in his arrangement of the phenomena of mind.

First, the Power of Conception, so called, where the perception of one object excites the *notion of some absent object*, he allows to belong to the mind; but he maintains that this is the *very function*, which is meant by the *power of suggestion* itself, and that if the conception be separated from the suggestion, nothing will remain to constitute the power of suggestion, which is only another name for the same power. There is not, in any case of suggestion, both a suggestion and a conception, more than there is, in any case of vision, both a vision and sight. What one *glance* is to the capacity of vision, one *conception* is to the capacity of suggestion. We may *see* innumerable objects in succession; we may *conceive* innumerable objects in succession. But we see them, because we are susceptible of vision; we conceive them, because we have that susceptibility of *spontaneous suggestion*, by which conceptions arise after each other in regular trains.

The next supposed *intellectual power*, to which he calls our attention, is the *power of memory*. This, he maintains, is not a distinct, intellectual faculty, but is merely a *suggestion*, and a *feeling of relation*, the relation of priority in time. When we think of a house, without any relation to former time, or any other relation, we have only a simple suggestion of it; but when we think of it as the abode where we *formerly* lived, the suggestion receives the name of memory. Now, between the *power of simple suggestion* and the general *power of feeling relations*, hereafter to be considered, what becomes of such a *faculty* as Memory? It vanishes before this analytical magic of Dr Brown.

So Recollection, which is conceived to be a kind of voluntary memory, and particularly under our control, he reduces

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to 'the coexistence of some vague and indistinct *desire* with our simple trains of suggestion.' As long as the desire of remembering a particular event or object continues to exist, a *variety* of suggestions, more or less directly connected with the event or object, spontaneously arise in the mind, until we either obtain, at last, the remembrance which we wish, or, by some new suggestion, are led into a new channel of thought, and forget altogether that there was anything which we wished to remember.

Next, Imagination is reduced to its component elements. The momentary groups of images that arise, independently of any desire or choice on our part, and arise in almost every minute to almost every mind, constitute by far the greater number of our imaginations. Here is evidently only a process of simple suggestion. But there are cases in which desire, or intention of some sort, accompanies the whole, or the chief part of the process, and it is of these cases chiefly that we are accustomed to think, in speaking of this supposed power. By Imagination, in the common use of the word, is meant, the *creative power* of the imagination. But is even *this* a separate and peculiar faculty of the mind? The following is the process by which the author shows that it is not. First, there arises to the mind of any given Imaginer some conception, or *simple suggestion* of a particular subject; next, this subject excites in him a *desire* of producing by it some beautiful or interesting result. This desire, like every other vivid feeling, has a degree of permanence, which our vivid feelings only possess; and, by its permanence, tends to keep the accompanying conception of the subject, which is the object of the desire, also permanent before us; and while it is thus permanent, the usual spontaneous suggestions take place; conception following conception, in rapid but relative series, and our judgment, all the time, approving and rejecting, according to these relations of *fitness* and *unfitness* to the subject, which it perceives in parts of the train.

Such is the author's picture of the state, or successive *states* of the mind in the formation of every species of production, which goes by the name of a work of imagination. It is not, he insists, the exercise of a *single power*, but the development of *various susceptibilities*, of *desire*, of *simple suggestion* by which conceptions rise after conceptions, of judg-

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ment or *relative suggestion*, by which a feeling of relative fitness or unfitness arises, on the contemplation of the conceptions that have thus spontaneously presented themselves. The results of this process will, of course, be different in value according to the constitution of different minds, and also according to the various influences of those secondary laws of suggestion, which were before pointed out as modifying the primary. In the mind of inventive genius, conceptions follow each other, *chiefly according to the relations of analogy*, which are infinite, and therefore admit of constant novelty; while in the humbler mind, the prevailing tendencies of suggestion are those of former *contiguity of objects in place and time*, which are, of course, limited, and by their very *nature*, limited to conceptions, that cannot confer on the mind in which they arise the honor of *originality*. The forty second Lecture, containing the full development and illustration of the foregoing principles, is one of the finest, one of the most interesting in the series. Imagination and Fancy seem to be used throughout as synonymous, or at least with no attempt at distinguishing them. Where the author endeavors to show the spiritual mechanism, as it were, by which, in conducting a work of imagination, some images are selected in preference to others, the train of discussion is peculiar to himself, and contains a full condensation of some of his most original doctrines.

The next Lecture contains two very curious speculations, in opposition to the doctrine that Habit is an ultimate and peculiar law of the mind, and explaining all its phenomena by the mere operation of simple suggestion; after which, the absurdity and incompetency of the Hartleian system of vibrations and vibratiuncles are in various ways exposed and refuted.

We now proceed to describe the other class of internal affections of the mind, comprehending our feelings of *relative suggestion*, that is, *all our feelings of relation*. There is an original tendency or *susceptibility* of the mind, by which, on perceiving together different objects, we are instantly, without the intervention of any other mental process, sensible of their relation in certain respects, as truly as there is an original tendency or susceptibility of the mind, by which, when external objects are present, and have produced a certain affection

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of our sensorial organ, we are instantly affected with the primary elementary feelings of perception. These relations we recognise both among external objects and our mental feelings of every kind, and they are divided by our author into two general classes. We perceive relations among them as they coexist at any given instant in groups, without any reference to succession in time. Thus, you feel that the one half of four is to twelve, as twelve is to seventy two, and you feel this, merely by considering the numbers together, without any regard to time. No notion of change or succession is involved in it. This is the first general class of relations. Next, we perceive relations among objects and among our feelings, considered with reference to time, as *successive*. Thus you perceive the relation of effect and cause, between the bloom of summer and the warmth of its sky.

The first of our classes of relations, those of which the subjects are regarded without reference to time, are subdivided into five different kinds. First, there is the relation of *position*. Mark the furniture standing about your room; one article on your right, another a little farther on, another directly opposite, and so forth. Secondly, the relation of *resemblance* or of *difference*. Observe in your path two flowers of the *same* tints and forms, or of *different* smells. Thirdly, the relation of *proportion*. Think of the equality between two virticle angles formed by two straight lines, which cut one another; of the pairs of numbers—four, six,—five, twenty—and your mind exists immediately in that state, which constitutes the *feeling of proportion*. Fourthly, the relation of *degree*. Listen to *one* voice, and then to a voice which is louder; smell one flower, and then another which is more or less fragrant. Fifthly, the relation of *comprehension*. Consider a house and its different apartments; a tree, and its branches, stems, and foliage; a horse, and its limbs, trunk, head, and you have the feeling of the relation of *parts* to one *comprehensive whole*. By some subtlety and refinement of analysis, these divisions might be made fewer, but they are sufficiently distinct for every purpose of arrangement.

Passing over the first of these five classes, the author directs our attention to the relation of *resemblance*. To this principle he ascribes all *classification*, and consequently every thing which is valuable in language. It is the use of *general terms*,

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that is to say, of terms *founded on the feeling of resemblance*, which alone gives to language its power, enabling us to condense, in a single word, innumerable objects, which, individually, would be utterly impossible to be grasped by us in our conceptions. It would be unjust to refuse to Dr Brown a chaplet of glory for the masterly penetration with which he has treated the subject of general ideas, and the unrivalled degrees of light and simplicity diffused by him through dark, tangled difficulties, amid which all former philosophers, without exception, had been hopelessly groping. Time was, when, if we had wished to make a common man tremble, and a wise one appear foolishly profound, we could not have devised a more successful method, than to ask them how they would explain an *abstract general notion*. The very phrase is even now bewildering and distressing, in consequence of old associations involved with it. Yes, even now, when our admirable author has revealed to the world, what the world may well wonder it never clearly and scientifically knew before, though all, down to child and idiot, must have felt and practised upon it every day, that the feeling of *similarity* is that which constitutes a *general notion*. 'The perception of objects, the feeling of their resemblance in certain respects, the invention of a name for these circumstances of felt resemblance,—what can be more truly and readily conceivable than this process! And yet on this process, apparently so simple, has been founded all that controversy as to *universals*, which so long distracted the schools; and which, far more wonderfully, (for the distraction of the schools by a few unintelligible words scarcely can be counted wonderful,) continues still to perplex philosophers with difficulties, which themselves have made; difficulties, which they could not even have made to themselves, if they had thought for a single moment of the nature of that feeling of the relation of similarity, which we are now considering.' *Lecture* 45.

The point in dispute was shortly this. One party maintained, that besides all the objects which we can know individually, there are in existence certain universal forms comprehending whole classes of objects. What does the word triangle represent? Surely not a triangle of three equal sides *only*, nor one of two equal sides only, nor one merely of three unequal sides. If it signify anything, they contended, it

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must signify a universal triangle, comprehending all possible properties of all possible triangles. So of the words man, tree, horse, flower, and other common substantives. The phrase universals *a parte rei*, which they gave to these supposed general essences, was expressive of the real existence of them, and those who maintained the doctrine itself, assumed the appellation of Realists. Pythagoras, Plato, Aristotle, and their followers in the schools and closets of two thousand years, held this doctrine with more or fewer modifications. The last lingering relic of its influence probably died with Dr Price of the last generation.

On the other hand, their opponents contended, that there is nothing in existence but particular and individual objects alone; and that the *names*, which we give to whole classes of them are entirely creatures of our own arbitrary invention, employed, for the sake of convenience, to comprehend many particulars under one general term. These philosophers, for an obvious reason, were called Nominalists. Their doctrine dates from Roscelinus, a native of Brittany, who lived in the eleventh century. Abelard, William Occam, Hobbes, Berkeley, Hume, Dr Campbell, and Dugald Stewart, have been among the most celebrated of its defenders. The emperor Lewis of Bavaria, and Lewis the Eleventh of France, took sides on the question, and led to the field the usual arguments of kings.

The great stumblingblock of the Nominalists has been, the *principle* according to which we conduct the classification of objects, and the comprehension of many under one general term. They have considered it as purely a matter of arbitrary performance on the part of men; and have never formally explained what constitutes those classes of objects to which we give a common name. They have not allowed that there is any other mental operation in the business of classification, besides the perception of objects, and the immediate employment of general terms. Dr Brown has satisfactorily developed the true intermediate operation of the mind between these two; that is to say, *a perception of the relation of resemblance* among whatever objects we rank under one general term. The consideration of this relative suggestion elucidates all the mystery, and reconciles nearly every difficulty. It allows to the Realist, not indeed his universal

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forms, and universal ideas, but *a real operation of the mind*, which fills up the hideous chasm that offended him, when persuaded to believe that there was nothing in existence to correspond with a name or order. It grants to the Nominalist the whole absurdity of universals *a parte rei*, but it presses upon him the existence of that which he denied, though he needed it, namely, a *general notion in the mind*, as the ground and reason for the employment of general terms. If it were the *name* only, which, as they say, forms the classification, and not that previous relative *feeling*, or general notion of resemblance of some sort, which the name denotes, then might *anything*, insists Dr Brown, be classed with *anything*, and be classed with equal propriety.

Dr Brown is far from claiming to be the first who conjectured, that there is *some* intermediate operation of the mind serving as a transition between the ideas of particular objects and the generalization of them by universal terms. There was formerly the sect of 'Conceptualists,' who maintained that we *conceive* of universal ideas, and give corresponding names to them, though they do not exist in reality. Locke and Reid were the more modern disciples of this school. But this argument has been successfully wielded against them, that it is as impossible for us to *conceive* of a triangle, or a man, comprehending in their respective natures the various and contradictory properties of all possible triangles and all possible men, as that there should be in existence the universal forms of such monsters of thought. Adam Smith had expressly pointed out, indeed, this principle of resemblance used in generalization. But when Dr Brown took the field, the victory was considered to be in the hands of the Nominalists. How he has snatched the prize away from them, and become at once umpire and conqueror, may be learnt from the foregoing sketch, and more at large and satisfactorily from the author's own extended speculations, which he concludes, along with the minor work, by saying, 'There have been Realists, Nominalists, Conceptualists. It is as a Relationist that I would technically distinguish myself.'

On recurring to Professor Stewart's Elements of the Philosophy of the Human Mind, to see whether *resemblance*, as the principle of classification, *could* have escaped so acute and profound a thinker, we find that he does suggest it,

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in his introductory observations on the faculty of abstraction, though unwarily and by chance as it were, and that he seems altogether unconscious of the extensive influence, which it possesses in the operations of the mind. That, in the progress of his inquiries, he loses sight of this principle, and ascribes omnipotent influence to the arbitrary use of names, must be evident to all who peruse his Fourth Chapter.

If Dr Brown has left anything to be desired in this part of his philosophy, it is a more exact and distinct description of what he means by *resemblance*. Perhaps the notion is not to be defined, but must be left to the consciousness of the inquirer, like the explanation of a color or a sound. Yet we can easily conceive that an obdurate Nominalist, before he yields his ground, should demand some definition of this mysterious and flexible cement, which unites into one class objects so *unlike* in some respects, as an acute angle and an obtuse angle, or a man and an insect, an elephant and an animalcule, or a globular atom and the world. Is it possible to hit upon an explanation of resemblance, which shall comprehend the infinitely multiplied cases in which it exists among objects, forms, motions, and conceptions, that involve at the same instant infinitely multiplied diversities? We decline entering now upon so shadowy a speculation, wishing, however, that our author had devoted a Lecture or two to its prosecution.

Among the five species of relations before enumerated, of which one, that is, *resemblance* has just been treated, the reader must recollect that of *comprehension*, or the relation of a whole to its parts. To this our author next proceeds. The relative suggestion, which involves this relation, is considered by him as the great single and simple instrument of our reasonings; nay, its continued operation is that which, according to him, involves the whole process of reasoning. He begins with single propositions. In every proposition, he says, that which is *affirmed* is a part of *that of which it is affirmed*. Snow is white. *White* is one of the many feelings which constitute your complex notion of snow. For a proof that reasoning consists of a number of propositions of this kind, each involving this relative notion of comprehension, we give an example, in the words of the author, of a somewhat extended, abstract, moral argument, as an extreme case.

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'When I say a man is fallible, I state a quality involved in the nature of man, as any other part of an aggregate is involved in any other comprehending whole. When I add, he may therefore err, even when he thinks himself least exposed to error, I state what is involved in the notion of his *infallibility*. When I say, he therefore must not expect that all men will think as he does, even on points which appear to him to have no obscurity, I state that which is involved in the possibility of his and their erring even on such points. When I say, that he therefore should not dare to punish those, who merely differ from him, and who may be right even in differing from him, I state what is involved in the absurdity of the expectation, that all men should think as he does. And when I say, that any particular legislative act of intolerance is as unjust as it is absurd, I state only what is involved in the impropriety of attempting to punish those, who have no other guilt, than that of differing in opinion from others, who are confessedly of a nature as *fallible* as their own.' *Lecture* 48.

Granting then that the process of reasoning is nothing but the perpetual evolution of successive parts, by which, at each new step, that which was just now a part, takes its turn to be considered as a whole, and some one of its own parts to be detected by the reasoner, and so onward, till he has arrived at some desired, or unexpected end of his investigations,—yet it is evident, that for the purpose of successful ratiocination, the propositions should follow each other *in a certain order*. How is it then, that they arrange themselves, as they rise in succession, in this necessary order?

Mr Locke's and the common opinion is, that we have a certain *sagacity*, by which we find out each successive step that occurs in a rightly ordered course of reasoning. But this is just explaining the difficulty by the difficulty itself. The question still remains, what the order of propositions is, which some persons have more, and some less sagacity, or rather facility and readiness in seizing upon, than others. The whole seeming mystery of this order, in the propositions which form our longest processes of reasoning, depends, according to Dr Brown, on the *regularity of the laws*, which guide our *simple* suggestions. In the first place, it is necessary that we should have a *continued desire* to come to some conclusion on any given subject. This continued desire, the nature of all our emotions being more *permanent* than our flitting and restless intellectual states, keeps the subject itself

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constantly before our minds; then, by the primary laws of suggestion before described, the conception of the original subject suggests various other *conceptions*. This is the second of the three stages in the process. Now to different minds the conceptions suggested are notoriously different. A man cannot *will* any new conception in a train of reasoning, for that would be to suppose the conception already in his mind. Nor does the same man reason equally well, nor even in the same manner, on a given subject, at different times. To day you can arrive by five steps of reasoning at a certain conclusion, which yesterday more circuitously cost you ten. Another man perhaps might never arrive at your conclusion, in consequence of his conceptions obstinately taking a different course, even when starting from the same subject with yourself. Yet his *reasoning* may be perfectly correct as well as yours; the difference between the conclusions arising from the difference between the conceptions suggested. We must, however, remember that there is a *third* stage in the process, which is, to feel the *relation of comprehension*, as above stated, between any conception as a whole and some one of its parts. And different men are also worse or better reasoners according as they have a less or greater tendency to feel *this* relation.

In the foregoing subtle speculations, which we have taken much pains to represent in the most intelligible and favorable manner, that a severe abstract would allow, the author indeed has ingeniously accounted for the various opinions existing among mankind, and has thus taught a philosophical lesson of comprehensive charity. But we must confess we looked for more. Is it come to this? Does *reason* depend for its authority on the accidental conceptions of men? We want a rule, that shall decide between the two opposite conclusions at which equally acute reasoners may, and do so often arrive. We do not like that there should be *occasion* for charity. We are anxious for uniformity, though not in the way by which legislative theologians would enforce it. Perhaps such a rule is never to be discovered in our imperfect world, where, from unavoidable circumstances, different *conceptions* must necessarily arise in different minds. But this is the very point, if it must be so, on which we regret that Dr Brown did not more emphatically dwell. Was he unwilling to con-

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fess the weakness of that very instrument, with which he has wrought so many triumphs? No man could have illustrated the subject more happily. He too, with his rare union of penetration and philosophical devotion, might have pointed out, with perhaps unrivalled felicity, what consolations mankind still possess in the absence of an infallible and convincing test of true reasoning, and what limits the Almighty himself has drawn for our safety in the very constitution of our minds, when he placed us in this dark, agitated, and doubtful state.

Perpaps an interesting sketch of the various orders of intellects might be taken in connexion with Dr Brown's views, and classifications of the simple and relative suggestions. A mind, for instance, which has a peculiar tendency to feel the relation of *comprehension* between any whole subject and all its possible parts or properties, is happily adapted, according to the theory just given, to logic, reasoning, and demonstration in general. If the tendency of a mind be to feel the relation of *proportion*, though with some subtlety this relation may be reduced to the former, its inclination is to mathematical demonstration. If it be chiefly inclined to perceive the relation of *resemblance* or *difference*, it deals in the generalizations of philosophy or in the distinctions of wit. If its habit be to look for the relation of *degree*, or comparison, it will be likely to excel in exquisite taste and judgment. If its leading tendency be to feel only the relation of *position*, it is of an humbler order. There are a few minds, which seem to be blessed with equal and decided capacities for all these five relative suggestions; and if the same minds also are gifted with tendencies towards the higher order of *simple suggestions*, that is to say, the suggestions of analogy, before dwelt upon, which will almost infinitely multiply the resources of new conceptions among which relations are to be *felt;* and if also their simple suggestions of proximity in place or time be unusually abundant, meaning thereby, apart from the author's nomenclature, only a strong and ready memory,—on such minds nature has conferred a high, singular, and enviable preeminence. Of course the infinite diversities among different minds will follow the corresponding distributions, which nature or circum stances may make of the foregoing tendencies, modified also, be it observed, by the secondary laws of suggestion already enumerated.

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Dr Brown skilfully overthrows the thrice slain syllogistic system, robbing it even of the little reputation it still possessed as a mode of communicating knowledge. He shows that it is in this light, if possible, still more defective than as a mode of acquiring it.

Besides the Relations of Coexistence, the five classes of which have been now considered, there is one more order, which involves the notion of *time*, or *priority* and *subsequence*, and these the author denominates Relations of Succession. These are of two classes. 'They are relations either of *casual*, or of *invariable* antecedence or consequence; and we distinguish these as clearly in our thought, as we distinguish any other two relations. We speak of events which happened after other events, as mere dates in chronology. We speak of other events, as the effects of events or circumstances that preceded them. The relations of *invariable* antecedence and consequence, in distinction from merely *casual* antecedence and consequence, is this relation of *causes and effects*.' Our notions of the fitness or unfitness of objects to produce certain results are ascribed by the author to our Relative Suggestions of Succession. 'All practical science is the knowledge of these aptitudes of things in their various circumstances of combination, as every art is the employment of them, in conformity with this knowledge, with a view to those future changes, which they tend to produce in all the different circumstances in which objects can be placed. To know how to add any enjoyment to life, or how to lessen any of its evils, is nothing more in any case, than to know the relation which objects bear to each other, as antecedent and consequent, some form of that particular relation, which we are considering.'

The faculty of Taste the author analyses into two separate elements, one of which he refers to this feeling of the Relation of Succession. One of these elements is the existence of certain *emotions* of admiration or disgust, that arise in the mind at the perception of various objects in nature and art. The other element, which involves the feeling of the Relation of Succession, is the knowledge of the particular forms, colors, sounds, or conceptions, that are most likely to be followed by those emotions.

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The last specimen of Dr Brown's analytical achievements, which we shall now present, is his explanation of Abstraction, a faculty by which we are supposed to be capable of *separating* in our thought certain parts of our complex notions, and of considering them thus abstracted from the rest. But the whole mystery of this supposed faculty is nothing more, than the perception of the relation of resemblance between two or more objects *in certain common properties*, without voluntarily or even consciously separating or regarding those other properties in which the objects are unlike. If we are capable of perceiving a resemblance of some sort, when we look at a swan and on snow, why should we be astonished, he asks, that we have invented the word *whiteness*, to signify the common circumstance of resemblance? Or why should we have recourse for this feeling of whiteness itself to any mysterious capacity of the mind, but that which evolves to us the similarity which we are acknowledged to be capable of feeling? Thus dissolves the last *horrida crux*, that has tormented so many metaphysical as well as unmetaphysical inquirers.

We have now exhibited Dr Brown's outlines of the External Affections of the Mind, and its purely Intellectual States; two out of the three leading Divisions into which he distributes all our mental states or feelings. His peculiar and prominent claims to originality may be suggested in one word, by mentioning his exhibition of the predominant share of influence, which the *Muscular System* exerts in the first class of feelings, and his analytical reduction of the whole of the second class to *Simple Suggestions* and *Felt Relations*.

We reserve for another occasion an examination of the author's more popular and tractable *third* grand division of our mental states, namely, the *Emotions;* together with his speculations on Ethics and Natural Theology.

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ART. II.—1. *The Ruins of Pæstum; and other Compositions in Verse.* 8vo. pp. 128. Salem, 1822. Cushing & Appleton.

2. *Athens, and other Poems.* By the Author of the Ruins of Pæstum. 8vo. pp. 84. Salem, 1824. Cushing & Appleton.

As the book, which bears the first of these titles, made its appearance two years ago, we are not sure that we do not owe our readers an apology for not having noticed it earlier. We should ill fulfil the task we have undertaken, were we to neglect the principal works of this kind, which are published in our own country. We might also obtain credit for sterner natures than we really possess, were we not occasionally won upon to pause amidst our severer labors, and notice those early blossoms, which the spring time of our literature is throwing out along our path. It is, certainly, no uninteresting or unphilosophical speculation to watch the progress of our poetry, and see it gradually assuming a character of its own.

We have read this volume with pleasure and interest. In addition to that strong sense of natural beauty, without which no man can be a poet, there is shown throughout a vein of true pathos, without which the most splendid poetry soon grows tiresome. The sentiments are often fine and striking; always just, noble, and generous. With these qualities is associated a deep, natural, and unaffected admiration of whatever great and excellent the genius of man has produced in the fine arts. The remains of antiquity; the wonders of architecture and sculpture, which are left as the vestiges of a mighty race, that has long passed away; the works of modern masters, and the productions of contemporary talent, are alike the objects of this warm and liberal enthusiasm. Where so many of the elements of poetry are present, we cannot but regret that any cause should mar, in the slightest degree, that perfection and harmony into which they should mingle. We are at the same time glad to see, that if any such cause exists, it is one which the author may easily remove. A little of the *limæ labor*, a stricter attention to the niceties of poetical diction, and a more painful revision of weak passages, would do much towards freeing the poetry of our author

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from the imperfections to which we allude. All readers of poetry know how much of its excellence lies in the language; how much of the strength and distinctness of the impression depends upon the way in which it is communicated. There are expressions, which act like a spell upon the imagination and the passions, when the same general idea, conveyed in other combinations of words, shall leave the imagination ungratified and the heart unaffected.

The defect of which we now speak is most perceptible in the author's narrative poems. He seems, if we may judge from the style of these pieces, to have read one of the most delightful and fascinating of the English poets, the author of the Seasons, with all that attention which his beautiful pictures of nature, and fine touches of sentiment, justly deserve; but, at the same time, he has contracted something of his diffuse, inverted diction, and foreign idiom. Of all styles in the world this is least adapted to narration. There is, perhaps, as much truth in the following maxim of Boileau, as in any general rule of criticism ever laid down.

Soyez vif et pressé dans vos narrations.

The general effect of any narrative is made up of a multitude of particular impressions on the mind, resulting from the particular incidents related. It is the business of the author to see that these impressions succeed each other in such a manner, that the new one shall be made before the last is effaced, and that each shall contribute to heighten and help forward those that follow. Whatever tends to weaken these impressions, whatever withdraws the attention from the particular incidents, diminishes the main interest of the narrative. An inverted style, by occupying the reader with the search of a meaning, and a diffuse style, by wasting his attention on epithets and expletives, which add nothing to the progress of the story, tend of course to distract the attention and impair the general effect. An elaborate magnificence of diction, overlaying the merely narrative parts of a poem, is like a load of costly drapery about the limbs of a competitor in the foot race.

The author, in one of the notes to his work, ingenuously acknowledges, that the greatest part of the volume was hastily composed. We could find it in our hearts to blame him

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for this haste, were it not that the amiable and frank spirit, which pervades the work, makes us reluctant to blame him for anything. He will, at least, pardon us for expressing our opinion, that all authors of what are called works of taste, should set out with a resolution never to come hastily before the public. There is a respect due to the literary world, which should restrain an author from publishing his work, before he has made it as perfect as he is able; in like manner as the decorums of civilized society restrain us from ushering ourselves into a polite assembly with a long beard, an unbrushed coat, and dirty boots. Besides, the advantages of a careful revision are so many and so important, as to render it matter of surprise that any class of authors, particularly the poets, should ever neglect them. It is true, that if the high state of mental excitement, requisite for the writing of poetry, could be kept up from the beginning to the end of a production of any tolerable length; if all the parts could be written with the same glow of inspiration, it might be better for the work that, the author should not tamper too freely with what had been so felicitously and forcibly struck out. But all poems will have their languid passages, the moment of exhaustion always arrives too soon, and often a stubborn idea refuses to be happily expressed. For these evils there is no remedy but revision; the weak passages may be strengthened; the original excitement may be recalled; a lucky moment may supply what was wanting to the first search; or at least what cannot be entirely dispensed with may be rendered more tolerable by being abridged.

From this charge of haste, however, the Ruins of Pæstum, the first and largest poem in the collection, and in our opinion the best, must, in justice to the author, be exempted. It is full of beautiful images and fine thoughts. It is a series of reflections suggesting themselves to a beholder of those wonderful and venerable ruins, the remains of fabrics whose founders are unknown, but which still offer models of architecture to the world. The following brief outline, with the extracts we shall give, will enable our readers to judge both of the plan and the execution.

The poem opens with a reflection upon the oblivion into which, to the confusion of human pride, the builders of those mighty edifices have fallen, the works of whose hands have

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for so many ages survived even the memory of their names. The history of Pæstum is then briefly traced, from the Phœnician Colony by whom it was founded, through its various fortunes and changes of inhabitants, till

> 'the Roman Eagle seized
> The double prey, and proudly perched on high!
> And here a thousand years he plumed his wings;
> Till from his lofty eyry, tempest tost,
> And impotent through age, headlong he plunged,
> While nations shuddered as they saw him fall.' p. 8.

The decay and desertion of Pæstum followed in the night of barbarism, that succeeded the northern invasion, and the particulars of its decline are involved in the darkness of that period.

The author then passes to the consideration of the individual fortunes of those by whom these solitudes were once peopled. The joys and sorrows of the children of that ancient race were like those of the men of our own time. Crimes were perpetrated, and great and good actions performed from age to age on this spot, which is now so desolate, and both alike are now forgotten. The attachments of domestic life were with them, as with us, the causes of happiness;

> 'And, ah! how oft has sorrow pierced the hearts
> Of mothers wailing o'er their offspring dead,
> Whose graves the blossoms of the infant year
> Adorned! and how have tears, at each return
> Of eve or morn, constant bedewed the turf
> Where mouldering the endeared mothers lay!
> And by the twinkling light of star, or moon's
> Pale beam—that moon whose mellow light now wraps
> This shadowy scene subduing all to peace—
> What thousand amorous vows in secret here
> Were pledged—reciprocated vows—ofttimes
> Conferring bliss, yet oft dissolved in air.' p. 13.

Yet this race, with all their enjoyments and their sufferings, their virtues and their vices, are passed away; they lie under the fertile spot they once possessed, and these old and mighty ruins are their monument. These ruins too shall perish;

> 'Yet Nature here
> In youth's perpetual bloom shall still survive;
> The hills still echo to the shepherd's song;

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The groves, the green retreats of happier times,
Shall lift their sacred tops amid the heavens;
And still these streams shall flow, though not as once,
Symphonious to the sound of Doric reed.
Here, too, amid the waste, with blush of morn,
Breathing Sabean sweets, still lonely blooms,
And shall forever bloom, thy lonely rose,
Oh, Pæstum!' p. 18.

The author closes his poem with an apostrophe to his country, of which we give the following lines.

'When shall that day come?
When shall thy homesick mariner from far
Descry upon thy promontories bold,
And seabeat coasts, the colonnade sublime
Glittering like Pharos in the moon's bright beams?
When shall thy isles their temples boast, and when
Thy groves majestic, to the favored few
Reveal the sculptured glories they o'ershade?
When 'mid thy Parian quarries shall be seen
The marble wonder starting into life?
When, too, to honor thy illustrious sons,
Shall Genius bid the glowing canvass breathe?
And when, oh when, shall bards like those of old,
To distant times their deathless names convey?
Yet come it will! the day already dawns!
I see its bright precursors—rosy clouds,
And beams effulgent from th' horizon wide,
Quite to the zenith shot. And look! e'en now
It trembles on the sea's broad verge—now mounts—
Oh, glorious view! the conscious ocean smiles;
Wave their high tops the pines; the vales rejoice;
And grateful nations hail the eternal day!' p. 20.

'Enda Mohatink,' and 'the Deserted Wreck,' the two poems which follow, cannot, for reasons already given, be considered as very perfect specimens of narrative poetry. Yet they are written with so much feeling, and so true a sympathy, that in reading them, we must regret that any fault of manner should lessen the interest they might otherwise excite. A variety of miscellaneous poems follow, of different degrees of merit, among which that entitled, 'I thought it slept,' seems to us particularly beautiful.

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There is also a collection of Sonnets, from which we extract the following, not only on account of its intrinsic elegance, but because it gives us the opportunity of transferring to our pages a just compliment to an illustrious and highly gifted citizen of our own country.

'Allston! thy name dear to the enlightened few
Who dare, even here, in this thy native clime,
Where genius pines amid the public view,
Predict the triumph of thy art sublime—

Allston! even here thy name shall loud resound
In happier times, and not as now, alone
In wondering foreign lands be echoed round.
Ah happier times I would ye were our own!

Still nobly emulous of those sons of art,
Who once the admiring eyes of Greece and Rome
Around them drew, exalting every heart—
Still dare aspire and mount to Fame's bright home.

Thus the young eagle from some rock's vast height
Proudly looks down, then soars to endless light.'

The last poem in the collection, entitled Tockwallerdon, reciting an instance of great generosity and heroism in an Indian youth, is the best specimen of narrative poetry in the volume. With the exception of a few passages evidently composed in haste, it is abundantly spirited and impassioned.

We had written thus far, when the volume entitled, *Athens and other Poems, by the Author of the Ruins of Pæstum*, was put into our hands. In addition to the poem, which gives a name to the collection, it contains several miscellaneous compositions in blank verse, all partaking largely of the same interesting qualities, which pervade the volume we have just noticed. We are glad to see in it so many proofs, that the author has employed to good purpose the interval which has elapsed since his first appearance before the public. He shows a greater confidence in his own powers, and more compactness and vigor of thought; and his numbers flow with a more easy and varied modulation. We find too that he has in some measure anticipated our criticisms on his style, and several of the poems in the present collection show, that he has projected certain important changes in his poetical dialect. There is more force and directness, and less of com-

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monplace in his phraseology. There is not such an expression as 'fair science' in the whole book, and few instances of that capricious collocation of words, not called for by any of the exigencies of blank verse, which put the reader in a sort of despair to know the agent from the object. The poem entitled *Athens* describes a view of the ruins of that city from the Museum hill, and sets before us the surrounding country, with its picturesque scenery and glorious recollections. We are, however, less pleased with it than with several of the smaller pieces of a pathetic cast, among which are the Ocean Travellers, Florello, Daphne, and Alphonso. We give the following passage from the poem entitled Daphne, because we believe our readers will be pleased with its soft and sober beauty, and because it will help them to understand what we mean, when we speak of the improvement in our author's poetical diction.

'Softly I tread the mazy labyrinth, lest
The rustling noise should interrupt the deep
And fearful stillness here. 'Tis thus amid
The forest wilds, when Autumn crowns, as now,
The plenteous year, and the gay antler'd herds
Look sleek, the unwearied hunter threads his way,
And, with a step cautious as Guilt, pursues
The timid chase. But what shall I alarm
In these deserted haunts, where none of choice
Repair, save those whom wretchedness has taught
After long toil to seek for refuge *here?*
The mole has burrowed deep and heeds me not,
The bat has ta'en his headlong flight in search
Of gentler skies, or nestles in some lone
And covered nook, while at my feet sleep those,
Whom not the crash of worlds shall wake again.' p. 53.

There is a brightness and warmth of coloring about the piece entitled Spring, which suits well with the bloom, and cheerful hopes of the season it describes.

We take the liberty in this place to hint to the author a trifling fault in the mechanism of his verse. We have noticed several lines ending with an unaccented word or syllable, as in the following instances;

'Immortal streams, on your loved banks reposed,
And still at dewy eve or morn, *shadowy*
Are seen,' &c. pp. 8, 9.

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'Methought I glad alighted on an Isle
Laved by the violet waves, that seemed to *my*
Astonished mind a place of pure delights,' &c. p. 28.

We take this practice to be hardly allowable, because it breaks down all the distinctions made by the ear between blank verse and prose, and leaves the reader only the barren gratification of beholding the words ranged in lines of apparently similar lengths. While we are upon this subject we would observe, that the license sometimes taken by our author of giving an additional syllable to the end of a line, is liable, from its unexpectedness, to a similar objection. It is indeed used liberally in dramatic poetry; and in a kind of composition so little removed from prose, it has been thought to have a good effect, as giving the versification something of a free and colloquial air. But we are greatly mistaken if it does not strike the ear with a disagreeable harshness, when met with in other kinds of poetry, and accordingly most writers have strictly avoided it.

We dismiss these volumes with feelings of gratitude to the author for the pleasure the perusal of them has afforded us. In the mean time, should he continue to pursue the unprofitable vocation of poetry, we would exhort him never to be seduced by any feeling of lassitude to refuse its labors. Let him apply his talents to the severe tasks it imposes, and he will be sure of obtaining its rewards. No species of composition requires a more perfect abstraction of mind than the writing of poetry, nor tasks the faculties to a more intense and vigorous exertion. When Parnassus is to be scaled, the palm is to him who climbs boldly and directly up its steeps; he who would pick out a safe way among the precipices, and sidle slowly and comfortably along in a circuitous path, will never reach the summit. The mighty and enduring edifices, whose remains our author has celebrated, were not built without immense toil; and all that is great and lasting in literature has been produced by strength attacking and overcoming difficulty.

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ART. III.—*Letters from Paris, on the Causes and Consequences of the French Revolution.* By WILLIAM C. SOMERVILLE. Baltimore. Edward J. Coale. 1822. 8vo. pp. 390.

THIS work, containing a review of the recent political history of France, is obviously the production of one familiar with the literature and language of the French, and industrious in obtaining correct sources of information. An American, returning from a tour in Europe, can hardly perform a more useful service, than by publishing a dispassionate examination of the civil condition of the continental states. This is a subject about which we need information, and such information as cannot be easily collected except in the countries themselves.

It is the leading object of Mr Somerville to show, that the French Revolution was justified by sufficient causes, that the spirit of liberty has not to bear the reproach of the enormities which attended it, that it has been followed by many permanent effects beneficial to France, and, finally, that the cause of liberty is really gaining ground, and must under some form at last be triumphant. We hope that all these positions are true ones. Some of them certainly are so. Our author's remarks extend to a wide range of former history and present politics, and we must content ourselves with touching on some of the general topics which they suggest.

Whoever considers the state of Europe about twenty years before the close of the last century, cannot but perceive that all the forms of government were ripe for change. A desire for civil liberty began to be active among the nations, just as three centuries before the understanding had revolted against the tyranny of the church over the conscience. But at the time of the reformation, there were no examples of a successful vindication of the freedom of faith; while now the government of England had served for two centuries as a monument of the tranquillity and glory, which are secured by free institutions; and a recent yet splendid revolution, in a distant quarter of the world, had established the advantages of successful resistance.

The constitutions of Europe had outlived themselves. Whatever remained of the forms of the middle ages had

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ceased to be respectable, because it was no longer sustained by the state of society. It needed not much of the prophetic spirit to foretell the speedy dissolution of the German empire. And even in the few free governments, the Dutch republic was weakened and distracted by the collisions of armed factions, and the fatal invitation given by each party to foreign princes to join in the struggle; while Venice, like a merchant who has withdrawn from business, was no longer enumerated among the influential powers.

Morals and honor had long since lost their control over politics. For a statesman to have been a philanthropist, or a man of strict integrity in his public functions, would have been an anomaly. The different kings, possessed of scattered dominions, and passionately desirous of consolidating their power and connecting their territories, made exchanges of provinces, as if allegiance and willing submission to government were matters of barter and trade. The strength of kingdoms was measured by the statistical tables, and the moral energy of nations was entirely forgotten.

All the princes of the continent had their standing armies, and the people was everywhere defenceless. But the finances of no one were in a condition, which promised permanent security and prosperity; and no government was strenuously supported by the affections of its subjects.

The power of public opinion, which is now universally conceded, was just beginning to make itself felt and known. Salutary principles were finding their way slowly among the people, but had not yet been defended by loud expressions of general assent.

The principles of a liberal democracy began to be at work in the monarchies, and it was seen, not only that the interests of the people and of the princes, but also their desires and purposes were at variance. The ruler and the ruled were arrayed against each other, and even to the superficial observer there seemed no doubt, which party would be the uppermost. But though the advocates of ancient usage had their armies already organized and at command, and no means of resistance were visible on the other side, it was still obvious, that hereditary rank had lost its control over the mind, and that the resources of the people, when brought into action, would produce results of incalculable importance.

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It was easy therefore to foresee, that a struggle would ensue between hereditary privileges and natural rights; and it was also to be expected, that the defenders of the former would be confident in maintaining what long usage had yielded to them, would feel strong in the forces, which were at their disposal, and despise opposition from a party, which had no public representatives, no influence in the government, and no means of organizing or wielding an army.

Add to this, that the manners of the higher orders had grown thoroughly dissolute; the sanctity of marriage contracts was treated as a jest; the connexion between parent and child was dissolved at birth; the bonds of natural fondness served no longer to restrain or guide the energies of the young. And yet the nobility claimed the same superiority, which they enjoyed in the earlier ages, when the spirit of contemplative devotion sanctified and elevated the character of woman, and disinterested valor, and honor, and education, conferred real superiority, no less than a poetic interest, on the champions of chivalry.

The spirits of men rose against this tyranny of vice and rank. The laws, unjustly administered, left the mechanic and the tradesman to defray the expenses of the government, and feed the vices of the nobles; and justice and prudence demanded opposition to so unequal a condition. The haughty superiority claimed by the nobles, was now a superiority of birth, not of intelligence and benefits; and therefore the pride of men could endure it no longer. A word from a minister, a scrap of paper signed by royalty, could imprison at pleasure, without reason, and without termination. Science and poetry were restrained in their efforts, and truth could not make her appearance in the world, unless she too paused, and asked permission in the antichambers of the powerful. Is it strange then, if men grew impatient of the thraldom in which they were held? They felt, moreover, that the cords which bound them were decayed, and that it needed only a strong arm to rend them asunder.

The remarks, which we have made, do not apply to France alone, but to nearly the whole of the European continent. For when the revolution commenced in that kingdom, the other nations were watching its progress with the deepest anxiety, prepared to imitate its institutions if they should prove to be wise and salutary.

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In tracing the causes of this state of things in France, Mr Somerville ascends far into anterior history, and shows the gradual operation of evils, which had long been increasing. 'The greatest and best kings of France,' he observes, 'have been those who were not born with a certain prospect of wearing the crown, but came into possession of it by accident, after having learned wisdom in the school of adversity.' p. 72. Louis Twelfth, Francis First, and Henry Fourth, are the princes, whom he selects as the wisest and most benevolent sovereigns of France prior to the revolution.

The benevolent character of Louis Twelfth, which made him desirous of promoting the happiness of the nation, and careful to avoid oppression, secured to France internal tranquillity and prosperity, though his unhappy desire of Italian conquests continued the ruinous expeditions against Milan. After all his reverses it would still seem, that at his death, little was wanting to the domestic prosperity of France, but the lustre of the fine arts and letters.

The influence of Francis First on the character of his nation was great and permanent. He rendered his own age miserable by his ambition of conquest, and his headstrong chivalrous courage, but he gave an impulse to learning, and introduced the fine arts from Italy. The first of the Lombard artists, the incomparable Leonardo, is said to have died in his embrace, and Benvenuto Cellini, that most ingenious, interesting semibarbarian, was for a considerable time his pensioner. Yet he was too much a voluptuary to be either truly great or truly liberal; and the fires of religious persecution continued to burn, even while policy dictated an alliance with protestant Germany.

The years, which succeeded the death of Francis, exhibit France distracted by internal factions, disgraced by the atrocious crimes of the Guises, and deprived of all foreign influence during the decline of the kingdom. At length Henry Fourth appeared to save and restore her. He had been disciplined in the school of persecution and adversity, and his natural qualities were so excellent and so amiable, that, but for the stain on his morals as a libertine, we might rank him among those, whose memory good men should cherish and defend. Mr Somerville, who is no admirer of Louis Fourteenth, dwells with complacency on the excellence of Henry's

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character, the order, regularity, and justice which he introduced, and the plans for future improvement which he devised. He encouraged agriculture, promoted learning, proposed improvements in the inland navigation, and was instant in his endeavors to promote toleration and annihilate the influence of fanaticism. To Henry Fourth, therefore, we must ascribe the late prosperity of France, and its safety from dismemberment and civil murders. In 1624, the ministry of Cardinal Richilieu commenced, and during the eighteen years that it continued, his powerful influence was pernicious to liberty. To increase the royal authority at home, and extend the influence of France on the councils of Europe, were the guiding principles of his policy. 'Richilieu endeavored to destroy virtue by converting honest men into courtiers. In order to weaken the influence of the nobles in the provinces, and destroy their popularity, he obliged them to live in Paris.' 'His system of policy, which went to invigorate the head at the expense of all the other members of the body politic, created the fatal ascendency of Paris over France.' p. 85. Yet, 'at the death of Richilieu and Louis Thirteenth, France was beginning to gather some of the fruits of the wise administration of Sully.' The state of society, of industry, and of letters, was improving. Corneille had already begun his career of glory, and Descartes filled Europe with his reputation. The nation, however, was still involved in superstition, and the laws enjoined death as a punishment for whatever superstition might convert into crime.

Of Louis Fourteenth we have never been able to hold a very elevated opinion. Admiration is lavished on kings, for whom fewer virtues, than are necessary to ensure respect as a private man, gain the reputation of justice, clemency, and a liberal fondness for the arts. Louis was educated to play the king, and this he learnt to do with success. He knew how to impose by a stateliness of manner, but that very stateliness betrays a weakness of character, and a consciousness of wanting direct superiority; and the pleasure, which he received from observing that others were intimidated by his deportment, betrays all the insignificance of vanity. As a politician he was unjust and cruel; criminally ambitious; still more criminally fanatical; prodigal and improvident. He found a kingdom in opulence, and at his death he left the

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nation impoverished and the finances in a state of ruin. Of the merits of his ministers and their claims to public gratitude, the most different estimates have been formed; but during his long career the administration had no unity of character, a sure proof that his own mind did not direct it. When Louis Fourteenth read Telemachus, he called it a libel on his reign. What severer censure can be passed on his character as a king?

As to the arts, he encouraged them in so far as they were subservient to his own vanity. Some of the first artists of his age were employed in decorating the palace walls of Versailles; but the subjects given them were of a nature to chill the warm impulses of genius. And in letters it is melancholy to learn, that Racine, the finest poet of his age, could be so weak as to pine under royal censure; still more melancholy to find the virtuous Archbishop of Cambray rejected and persecuted, for inculcating simple lessons of morality. But not to insist on his particular hostility to one who desired, and another who deserved his protection, we do not read, that Louis called forth original genius, or rewarded it very bountifully, nor that he rewarded any but such as repaid his protection by flattery.

It is right, that the French should regard the age, in which Louis sat upon the throne, as an age of national glory. But it was glorious, not for the extended dominions of his kingdom, nor for the splendid victories, which were followed by as disastrous defeats; but because the men of letters gave to France a moral influence throughout the continent. The Grecian masterpieces in tragedy were imitated, and dramas were composed in rivalship of them, with the same severity of invention and careful execution, the same unity of design and manner, the same nobleness and heroic efforts of passion, and the Grecian heroes reappeared on the stage in their ancient sublimity, having lost only so much of their peculiar characteristics, as was needed to secure for them the sympathies of a modern nation. The French taste became the European taste; the French models were in the hands of every well educated person of each sex, and thus the intelligence and literature of France were successful in gaining universal sovereignty, which was the more secure because willingly conceded. This command over the mind was

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achieved by the men of letters, not by Louis; and the Muse never manifested her superiority more remarkably.

And why should not the truth be spoken plainly of the character of Louis Fourteenth as a private man? He was a libertine, and yet a superstitious devotee. He was duped by his courtiers, governed by his mistress, beloved by nobody. How could he have been amiable, in whose hour of death not one friend was present? Mercenary hands closed the eyes of the monarch, who had at one time made Europe tremble for her independence. There is but one passage in his life, which is full of moral interest. It is the moment, when just before his end he calls his grandson to his bedside, and gives him the advice as of a man, whom approaching death had taught the wisdom of moderation. 'Do not imitate me,' says he, 'in the taste which I have had for war; follow good counsels; endeavor to be a solace to your people, that which I was so utterly unhappy, as not to have been.' Louis Fourteenth died, as one ambitious of conquest deserves to die, a disappointed man. His history teaches the necessity of making a noble end the grand object of life, so that, if it be not attained, the mind may at least be saved from misery, through a consciousness of noble purposes.

We do not desire to investigate the impiety and profligacy of the succeeding regency and reign. Religion, justice, sound policy, human nature, even the majesty of God, were wilfully outraged, mocked, and profaned. It is known, that the licentiousness of the East was renewed at Paris; but under what a difference of circumstances. In the East the voluptuousness of the sovereign is countenanced by hereditary usage, by the established laws, by the national religion. But in a Christian country, a Christian king introduced a wide spreading, desolating profligacy, in opposition to public morals, in violation of the laws, and in defiance of the religion, whose precepts should intimidate the audacity of libertinism, and teach the necessity of selfdenial.

With respect to the revolution, we may observe, that it was accelerated during this period by the increasing derangement of the finances, by the profligacy of the court, which took from religion its sanctity, from the nobles their ancient respectability, from the throne its dignity and its terror, and lastly by the misrule of corrupt ministers, who weakened the

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government at home, and deprived it of all foreign influence. Louis Sixteenth, it has often been observed, in a peaceful situation might have exercised all the virtues of philanthropy. But he had not mind enough to perceive in what condition he was placed, nor resources and energy enough to act with promptness and decision in the emergencies, which were continually rising. His adhesion to the popular measures came too tardily to inspire gratitude or confidence in his sincerity. His policy was vacillating; at one time he seemed to recognise the folly of opposing the public will; and at another to entertain a secret hope of successfully counteracting it. He showed some traces of magnanimity in overstepping ancient prejudice, and making a protestant, a foreign republican, and still worse in the view of hereditary pride, a merchant, his minister of finances; but the appointment of a plebeian was followed by his dismission and banishment, so that the king exposed his feebleness by yielding, while he alienated all confidence by attempting to recede.

Mr Somerville is always careful to vindicate the spirit of liberty from participation in crime, and his remarks on the crisis now under consideration are more circumstantial. Two points become clear from considering the preceding periods of history. France needed to be relieved from the weight of feudal oppression, and the moral and intellectual condition of the nation was such, as could have been expected from the long continuance of a depraved and depraving despotism. The government was weak; the national religion was subverted; the courtiers had become wastefully prodigal; internal commerce was restricted by unjust laws; agriculture was injured by the multitude of holidays; the court was licentious; vague and perhaps perverse notions of liberty were circulating among the people; the throne was supported by few men of untarnished integrity; opinion had ceased to be the support of monarchy; the demands of the treasury surpassed its resources; and feudal usage still exempted the nobles and the clergy from taxation. Add to this the condition of the nation; that the nobles were for the most part ignorant and corrupt; fond of their privileges and vain of their distinction; that the people, little advanced in civilization, only felt themselves oppressed and on the verge of ruin;

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that wit and genius were busy in throwing ridicule on the false pretensions of the higher orders, and the absurdities of despotism; that men of cunning, reason, and overpowering eloquence were engaged in discussing the character of governments and the methods of reform; and that politicians of most acute understandings, some of them ingenious in sophistry, others of consummate natural gifts, but of little practical experience, were investigating every subject connected with education, government, and religion.

As an expedient against present ruin the States General were assembled. This was the moment, when it became possible for the people to express their discontent, to enforce their just demands, and to secure for themselves a guarantee against future oppression. Yet several circumstances were of inauspicious omen. The privileged orders were still infatuated with a love of their rank and immunities; the king and the royal party were never prudent enough to foresee what would be imperatively demanded; and, instead of conceding in season to excite confidence in the people, they retained everything till it was violently claimed. The States General, formed into a Constituent Assembly, were prepared to reform; yet in a country where no free institutions had ever existed, how was it possible to collect a class of practical statesmen? Moreover, they began a reform, to which no limits were set, and where there were no landmarks to guide. Yet the doctrine of liberty was asserted with temperance and success, and humanity has no cause to blush for the principles which the assembly maintained.

'The Constituent Assembly,' says Mr Somerville, 'proclaimed universal toleration in matters of religion, and thus made virtue the test of piety, and took away from hypocrisy the mask of truth; it rendered monastic seclusion obligatory only on the consciences of devotees, and thus relieved many from the intolerable hardship of being imprisoned for life, in spite of repentance. It abolished *Lettres de Cachet*, and thus deprived the king of the power of exiling and ruining any individual, or of shutting him up for life in solitary confinement to gratify private resentment, or the persecuting caprice of any great man; it forbade the future use of torture, and thus deprived the amateurs of cruelty of all opportunity of enjoying spectacles of agony; it ordered all criminal prosecutions to be carried on in public, and thus stript prosecutors and false witnesses of the chance of perjuring themselves with impunity; whilst,

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by adopting the trial by jury, it secured to the accused, not only the probability of acquittal when innocent, but that most beautiful privilege of a British subject, the right of being presumed innocent until proved guilty. By establishing the liberty of the press, it secured to truth an ultimate triumph over error, in spite of the abuse of that privilege, which followed in the first hours of its fruition. By putting down the peculiar privileges of the noblesse, and by limiting the prerogatives of the crown, it sought to preserve personal freedom. By exploding the whole system of monopoly, it revived industry, and by suppressing the motley group of provincial laws, one of the relics of feudal barbarism, it opened the way for the establishment of a regular tariff, and a general code of laws. By the division and sale of the great estates of the clergy and crown, it brought them into cultivation, and rescued an immense body of people from a state of idleness, which perpetuated their ignorance. By arming the national guards or militia, it covered France with a shield; and by renouncing the right of conquest, it tried to take away from her neighbors all excuse for assailing her. Such, as far as I can learn from history and tradition, were the principal acts of the Constituent Assembly.' pp. 148—149.

With this the French revolution, properly speaking, was terminated. Had France been permitted by foreign nations to have matured her institutions in peace, and had her king been honestly and energetically attached to freedom and justice, the nation would have risen at once to a high degree of happiness and power, and other nations would have been prompted to imitate her institutions by peaceable reforms.

But the members of the Constituent Assembly were not permitted to complete their work. A law prohibited their re-election; and a host of new politicians, eager to distinguish themselves by farther reforms or innovations, composed the Legislative Assembly. The spirit of liberty now began to be supplanted by that of lawlessness. It has been often disputed, whether atheism or superstition is the worst enemy of religion; it may in like manner be doubted, whether abject submission to arbitrary power, or a hatred of all restraint, is the most adverse to liberty. The former ruins the present prosperity of men, but the latter mocks their hopes, and cheats them of success when it seems certain. The French nation had become engrained with the vices of a long continuing despostism; government seemed but another name for oppression; and thus the nation could be led to acts of cruelty by men, who pretended a fanatical admiration of liberty, and yet

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were chiefly influenced by their desire of private aggrandizement. A free people is never a merciless one.

Mr Somerville analyses the character of the Legislative Assembly, the National Convention, and the fearful governments, which succeeded. During these days the enlightened defenders of liberty were possessed of little influence. Necker was in exile; La Fayette was obliged to fly for his safety; and many of the purest advocates of free institutions were massacred, or transported to America. The crimes of this period were the offspring of the corruption, which the former despotism had rendered almost universal. They must be attributed, however, not solely to an evil spirit in the nation, but to pride, excited by foreign invasion. The most atrocious deeds were committed in moments of the greatest peril. The author next proceeds to the advancement of Napoleon, and treats of his character, and the benefits which he conferred upon France in the first period of his elevation. The French people did not submit to him from fickleness, nor from indifference to liberty. He came upon them, when they were exhausted by unnatural efforts, and desired nothing so ardently as repose. In continuation of this subject, Mr Somerville devotes several letters to observations on the government of the emperor, his fall, the restoration and unwise administration of the Bourbons, the return of Napoleon, his second abdication, and the second invasion of France by the allies.

In 1819 the administration of Decazes gave to liberty an opportunity of developing its powers. During his short ministry all accounts agree, that the nation received a new impulse, and improved in industry, commerce, and inventions. The liberty of the press was perfect, and the government began to gain the confidence of the nation. Decazes seems to have fallen, from a want of sufficient disinterestedness. He could have continued in office, if he had been uniformly true to a liberal policy. As the event has shown, the liberal party were not discreet in opposing him. Had they made some sacrifices, and given over contending for points, which they could only contend for, without any prospect of success, they might have upheld a more than moderately liberal ministry. In their sincere love of perfectly free institutions, and their consequent unwillingness to make any compromise with

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circumstances, or in their triumphant expectations of soon possessing all authority, they united with their bitterest enemies to bring about the fall of Decazes, and lost the only opportunity of securing present liberty to their country.

The insincerity of Decazes, and the imprudence of the liberal party, were followed by the complete annihilation of the political influence of both, by a royalist ministry, a series of arbitrary infringements on the letter and spirit of the charter, and those changes in the mode of election, which have secured to the aristocracy the continued, and, as it would seem from the character of the members recently chosen, the almost undisputed possession of political authority and influence. Mr Somerville enters largely on these topics; explains the royalist politics, and speaks of the arguments used in favor of despotism. He closes his work with observations on the internal condition of France, and much valuable and practical information on the progress of agriculture and manufactures.

The period of history, through which we have been conducted, does but increase our admiration of liberty, and our belief of its final triumph. Present prospects are indeed gloomy, not so much because the conspiracy of kings is irresistible, as because the people are passive and content to endure. Perhaps a despot, of powerful mind and large resources, could lull the advocates for reform once more to silence, and bring back the lethargic apathy, from which Europe has but just been awakened. Yet during the whole series of eventful struggles and collisions, which have indeed been followed by too few advantages to satisfy the hopes of philanthropy, the general progress of liberal opinion is distinctly visible. The despots have grown more considerate, are cautious in their acts of tyranny, and avoid prodigality and waste. Public opinion is an invisible, but constant and influential power, which makes itself felt in every cabinet of Europe. Farther, that constitutional governments are superior to arbitrary monarchies is a principle, which is no longer questioned. The emperor of Russia has acknowledged it at Warsaw and at Petersburgh; and the Prussian king pledged his royal faith, that he would act by it. The press is not yet free; but of old the censorship was a regular, established affair; now it is defended only as a necessary infringement of the public rights, a temporary exercise of a dictatorial author-

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ity, required by the urgency of the times. The principle is conceded, though the right itself is withheld. For these acts of injustice the party in power quote the example of the Roman republic, and can, unfortunately, strengthen their argument by the recent practice of the English parliament.

If we consider the permanent results of the French revolution, they are auspicious and consolatory. What has France gained by it?

'She has gained,' Mr Somerville replies, 'a new territorial division of the kingdom, by which her various dissimilar provinces have been melted down into one community; an abolition of the privileges of the *noblesse;* the suppression of an oppressive ecclesiastical system, and of the right in religious corporations to hold landed property; an equal assessment of taxes over the whole kingdom; the establishment of a uniform system of jurisprudence, with the trial by jury; a respect for talents over birth, with a free access of any Frenchman to any employment, civil or military; the equality of all, in the eye of the law; the subdivision of the great estates of the kingdom; the emancipation of industry from the shackles of *Jurandes* and *Maitrisses*, and consequently great improvements in manufactures and husbandry; freedom of conscience in matters of religion; the liberty of the press, at least for books; a representative form of government, with a long et cetera of inferior advantages.' p. 13.

Much progress has, therefore, been made; and where a representation once exists, the character of the government will be still farther modified by the character of those who are governed. Yet many causes unite to impede the present establishment of perfectly free institutions.

The peasantry of France are extremely ignorant. Whole villages may be found, where not more than three or four can read. Even in the immediate vicinity of Paris, and within the echoes of the legislative debates, there are towns in which not three newspapers are taken, and those not by persons, who actually belong to the people. The eloquent pleas for liberty are of no effect, for they are not heard by the mass of the nation. Hence no general political spirit exists, except when the popularity of individuals is concerned, or as the taxes of the state affect private interests; and national attention can hardly be directed to refined questions on the management of the elections, and the free expressions of opinion. So great is the popular ignorance, that the most liberal politicians have

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never advocated any very wide extension of the elective franchise, believing it to be first necessary to educate the nation.

Thus the first obstacle to the progress of liberty in France is found in the political ignorance and uninstructed condition of the people. It is also a characteristic of that cheerful nation to look at the bright side of a picture, to bear necessary evils with an elastic sprightliness, which is almost magnanimity. They are always content, if possible, and if there be anything captivating in the party in power, they are willing to applaud and coincide with the majority. The fondness for living at Paris would be productive of good, by promoting the circulation of political ideas, were it not, that Paris exercises an absolute dominion over the mind and tastes of the nation. The country is left without its due influence; men throng from all quarters to the banks of the Seine, not to interchange ideas, and form enlarged views from the collisions of various independent parties, but to learn and adopt the principles and tastes of the metropolis.

Yet, after all, how can liberty make rapid progress in a country, where the peculiar privileges of citizens are hardly known and little esteemed? The French have not yet learned to value their political existence; they have so long been subjects, that they hardly know what it is to participate in governing. They set a disproportionate value on social equality. It is not enough to secure the rights of person and property, liberty of speech, and equality before all tribunals; they will admit of no difference in the terms of intercourse, and are offended at any attention bestowed on high rank or superior wealth. This is a weakness, which has been very apparent in many parts of recent French history, and has proved injurious, because it has made common courtesies sometimes withdraw the attention from actual injustice.

We find another class of causes, which have retarded the progress of liberty in France, in the mismanagement of the liberal party. They have never acted with that perfect union, which resigns all private and peculiar feelings to the great object of the public good. They have mingled their ancient prejudices and enmities with their defence of liberty; and they have never had any well organized system of cooperation. Their metaphysical refinements in politics have been of no general advantage. They have formed and advocated

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systems of polity, when there was need of champions for practical reform, and the most ingenious arguments in the chamber of deputies have sometimes been made without effect, because they were founded on the theories of individuals.

But far more injury has been done by an unconciliating, confident course. They relied on the justice and popularity of their cause; the nation was probably disposed to support them with steadiness; but it desired peace, was conscious of prosperity, knew that their finances were in a better condition than those of any European nation, and that France was fast regaining prosperity and wealth. The popular leaders found no fermented nation; they threw themselves, as they thought, on the sea of political commotion; but the waves were still.

The confidence of the liberals injured their cause, for it excited opposition. The royalists, at the first and second restoration, had been moved by the strong passion of revenge to do some things, which were prohibited by the charter. The liberals urged relentlessly the revocation of such acts; and in one instance at least, in the case of those who were banished by a royal edict, demanded as a right, what the king was already resolved to concede as a proof of leniency. In these cases they acted as high minded men, yet consulted but poorly for the final advantage of their cause. The liberal side in the chamber of deputies lost much influence, from the circumstance of the various elements of which it was composed. Some were suspected of having formerly been too sincerely attached to the fortunes of the emperor; some were charged with a design of overturning the regal government; and the belief was prevalent, that, even if all were honest in their preference of liberty, the zeal of many was quickened by the expectation of preferment under the new order of things.

A third class of causes, impeding the progress of liberty in France, is found in the essential obstacles, which must always exist in a country where monarchical institutions are deeply rooted. The atheism of the last century, and the terrible irreligion of France during a portion of her revolutionary governments, had not been able to wear away even the rust of superstition; and all the enthusiasm for liberty, all the suffering under the despotism of the emperor, all the crosses and dis-

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appointments under the restoration, have not been enough to eradicate the attachment of the nation to a regal government. The desire of a republic in France was never a deeply rooted attachment to that form of government, but only the frenzy of a moment. At present the organization of the army, the church, the municipal and provincial jurisdiction, presuppose a monarch at their head, and a monarch possessed of extensive prerogatives. Historical recollections are not easily to be effaced. It is uncomfortable to many to reject forms, which are associated with stories of ancient valor and renown, to part with a government, which is connected with every tradition, every work of art, every public enterprise.

Yet while there is reason to fear, that the constitution of France will not be administered in the spirit of impartial liberty, there is no ground for fearing its absolute, nor even its virtual abolition. The royalists do not desire such an abolition, for it would be to surrender the power they have gained, and to receive from royal caprice the honors and consideration, which they are now able to obtain, and to dispense by the laws. The utmost which they can meditate, consists in such modifications of the charter, as will secure all power to themselves. Hitherto the men of science and letters have been distinguished for the adulation they have paid to royalty. They are so still. But some of them enjoy the rank of peers and counsellors of state; their pride, a pitiful pride for men of the first eminence in science, is gratified by the dignity, and though they never will advocate the principles of democracy, they will not advocate such an exclusive superiority of the higher orders, as would leave themselves without political distinction.

We accustom ourselves also to have good hopes respecting the future. The combination of the allied sovereigns cannot endure, if any inference may be drawn from the fate of former coalitions, or from the elements of which the present is composed. The respective powers have had, and must continue to have, mutual jealousies. Though the sword of the Prussian now rests peaceably in its scabbard, it cannot be forgotten, that it first gained the lustre and keenness of its edge in its contests with Austria. It is, moreover, the true policy of Prussia to favor liberal principles, and she cannot long re-

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main untrue to her higher destiny. Her government is administered with unparalleled economy. The king expends, as it were, nothing for his private pleasures; his equipage and attendants do not surpass the limits of a moderate private fortune. And as for the execution of civil justice, there is no country where the guiltless is more sure to escape, or the injured to gain redress. Still more may be said in praise of Prussia. She has of late years uniformly and systematically made exertions to diffuse the advantages of education, and promote every liberal science and every elegant art. The private galleries of the king have been collected, the palaces at Potsdam and Berlin stripped of their ornaments, that public schools might be opened to the artists, and a constant source of improvement and delight to the public. A liberal Protestant church is supported by a regular, learned, and sufficiently numerous ministry; village schools are provided for the instruction of the peasantry; every considerable town has at least one gymnasium, and sometimes several; while the universities of Berlin, Halle, Bonne, and Breslau, yield in excellence to none, and have only Göttingen for a successful rival. Placed as the country is, with a vast frontier, in the centre of Europe, exposed to an attack on all sides, whether from France, Austria, or the Czar, it has been felt, that nothing but the public spirit of the nation can preserve its existence, and that spirit has been kept up by the gradual abolition of all feudal wrongs, and the general diffusion of intelligence. A government, which entrusts its security to the keeping of a well instructed nation, is essentially a free one.

We do not believe that the Holy Alliance can continue; and much may be expected from the progress of political knowledge. The principles of government are every day more widely and universally discussed. They are exhibiting themselves also in practice on a grander scale than the world has ever yet witnessed. The new republics, which are starting into existence in the American hemispheres, will exercise a powerful influence on the political condition of Europe. A system of states will be formed, embracing all parts of the civilized world, and, by containing examples of every form of government, will enable the nations to decide from practical experience, which forms are usually administered with the soundest wisdom, and are productive of the greatest good.

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We trust also not a little in the native force of liberty. Its orb may be darkened, but never quenched; its beams obscured for the moment, but tomorrow repaired. From the days of Marathon to that of Waterloo, whenever the armies of liberty and despotism have been arrayed against each other, the fairest cause has almost always been victorious. A nation rising in arms is not to be subdued by mercenary troops. It was the spirit of liberty, though under the form of enthusiastic frenzy, which made the arms of the French republic invincible; the spirit of liberty left to Napoleon in Spain victories without conquest, and trophies without dominion; it was the spirit of liberty, which animated the German nation, when they collected all the zeal and force for which their character is remarkable, and poured across the Rhine to protect their independence. And still at Waterloo, the British believed themselves engaged for the rights and welfare of mankind, and the Prussians, yet the dupes of royal promises, fought, as they believed, for national independence and internal freedom.

But, whatever may be the ultimate condition of Europe, the lessons of liberty will continue to be taught. We return home from the review of European governments, with new love for our national advantages, and with new zeal to support them. We recur to this topic, which is, as it should be, a very common one, not from a spirit of national vanity, but that we may feel gratitude to the great Parent of the nations, under whose Providence our republic has grown up to prosperity; and may cherish with the more sacred love the memory of those who achieved our liberties, and be mutually encouraged to watch for the preservation and integrity of our institutions. In other countries even the best men are divided in their views of politics, but in America there exists and can exist no such division. Here all our feelings are in harmony. Patriotism, respect for existing forms, reverence for the memory of our fathers, all unite to inspire the love of a liberal democracy. We have no deluding recollection of the virtues and prowess of chivalry to cheat us into admiration of feudal institutions. Safe from foreign influence, blessed with an even and impartial administration of justice, and feeling our mild government only by the freedom and safety which it ensures us, we can observe with calmness the political career of

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our public men, and choose the most intelligent and patriotic to administer our laws, dreading no extensions of prerogatives, no unlawful usurpations, no attacks on our private peace and comforts, and acknowledging no triumvirate but the eternal one, of truth, virtue, and liberty.

ART. IV.—*Il Decameron di Messer Giovanni Boccaccio, corretto ed illustrato con Note tratte da Vari, dal Dott. Giulio Ferrario.* 4 vols. 8vo. Milano. 1803.

ITALY, it has been observed by one of the most ingenious and elegant historians of modern times, has peculiar cause to exult in the state of her literature during the fourteenth century. At that period the north of Europe still continued buried in the night of darkness, which attended and followed the dismemberment of the Western Empire; or, if a ray of light shone out here and there in the British Isles, in Germany, or among the remoter tribes beyond them, it seems to have been but a faint and fitful glimmering, only just enough to illuminate and render visible the capricious barbarism of the conquerors of the Cæsars. The literature of the south of Europe, however, was just springing into being, with the flush and freshness of youth upon it. The songs of the troubadours, and the romances of chivalry, exhibiting all the charm of simplicity, raciness, and vigor, began ere now to be produced, in the fertility of a virgin soil, all over the contiguous countries of Italy, Spain, Portugal, and France. The people of these favored lands spoke kindred dialects of one great language, formed by incorporating the Teutonic idioms with such scattered fragments of the Roman tongue, as had survived the destruction of the Roman power; and their poetry displays an age not of imitation, nor of improvement on the past, but an age of first creation, like that in the times before among the primitive Greeks.

But there was this remarkable particular in which the Italians were distinguished in literature, from their sister nations in the south of Europe. The literature of the latter, as observed by Sismondi, belongs to the respective nations them-

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selves, and not to individuals; but Italy, while in the general progress of intellectual culture she was not behind either France or Spain, gave birth to three men of extraordinary genius, who stood then, as they stand now, preeminent among all their contemporaries, and who, each in his peculiar kind, bequeathed the noblest models of excellence to an admiring posterity. They were all Florentines, children of that proud republic, whose destiny it was to renovate, in commercial splendor and in taste for letters, the glories of ancient Athens. Dante, the oldest of the three, and he among them, whose mind was of the most sublime and original cast, gave to the world the first great poem after the revival of letters in Western Europe; Petrarca created lyric poetry anew; and Boccaccio that rich, easy, mellifluous, flexible prose, which is so finely adapted to the national character of the Italians.

Boccaccio is the least celebrated of these illustrious names, because the department of literature, which he most successfully cultivated, wants the elevation of lyric or heroic poetry, and because the licentiousness of a part of his writings has fixed a lasting stigma upon his fame; owing to which, the incidents of his life and the merits of his writings are, perhaps, less familiarly known at the present day than those of Dante or Petrarca. But as Boccaccio was in fact the creator of the classic prose style of his nation, and as the Decameron, the most popular of his works, and that on which his reputation as a writer chiefly rests, is possessed of sterling excellencies, which, in our own day, as well as in preceding times, have endeared it to all the lovers of Italian literature, an account of his life, with a particular examination of the Decameron, may not be devoid of interest.

Neither the birthplace, nor the parentage of Boccaccio is known with certainty. His family, which maintained a respectable rank in the republic of Florence, belonged to Certaldo, a small village in the Val d'Elsa, about twenty miles from the city, from which our author himself was called Giovanni di Boccaccio da Certaldo. His father, Boccaccio di Chellino di Buonaiuto, was a merchant extensively engaged in commercial speculations, who, nevertheless, in the spirit which created the grandeur of his country, had been appointed to important offices in Florence. Giovanni, his son, was born in the year 1313, and, as some authors contend, in

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Florence; but Tiraboschi concludes, from the testimony of his oldest biographer, Villani, and of Domenico d'Arezzo, that he was born at Paris, where his father was then casually residing, and was the fruit of an intrigue with an obscure French woman. Manni, and other admirers of Boccaccio, strive hard to free his escutcheon from the sinister bar; but the fact, as we have stated it, is nearly certain.

Boccaccio was placed at Florence in his childhood under the care of Giovanni, father of the famous poet Zanobii da Strada, for instruction in liberal knowledge; but was soon removed from school by his father to be devoted to mercantile affairs, in the transaction of which he travelled constantly through the various provinces of Italy, and the neighboring countries. But in the short space of time, which he spent in study, he had acquired or developed a decided predilection for literature, which no exertions of his father could extinguish, nor any of the pleasures or cares of the world dissipate. On the contrary, he returned from his travels, not with that taste for business, which his father was anxious to inspire, but with increased intellectual accomplishments, and a more ardent thirst after knowledge. In this manner he wasted his youth and the prime of his manhood, reluctantly fastened down to the detail of commerce, doing constant violence to his feelings, and struggling in vain to accomplish his filial duties, while a more powerful and irresistible impulse was forcing him forward into the career of fame, on which he was destined to enter.

His example strikingly illustrates the uselessness of attempting to constrain the dispositions of the youthful mind, when they are once decidedly formed. The same intellect, that, in the situations to which nature and acquired taste adapt it, flourishes luxuriantly, and puts forth its hardy and healthful blossoms, will, if torn from the genial skies and earth, which it demands, droop away into a stinted and languishing growth. So it was with Boccaccio until his twenty eighth year, when a little incident, which occurred at Naples, emancipated his genius from the fetters, wherein it had hitherto lain imprisoned. While residing at Naples as a merchant, he happened to visit the tomb of Virgil, the sight of which so inflamed his poetic enthusiasm, and so heightened the disgust he felt towards commerce, that his father finally suffered him to fol-

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low the bent of his inclinations. The only condition imposed on Boccaccio was, that he should learn the canon law, which, in his eagerness to devote himself to study, he was willing to do, although he himself complains that the years thus occupied were thrown away, so invincible and exclusive was his attachment to letters. His father's death, soon afterwards, left him unconstrained master of his actions, when he gave himself up unreservedly to his favorite studies, and pursued them with all the energy of his ripened faculties. He collected and copied the manuscripts of ancient classics, and studied their works with enthusiasm; he eagerly sought for the society and instructions of all contemporary scholars in Italy, France, and Germany; in fine, he left unexplored no source of knowledge, which his age or country supplied, until he had mastered the severer sciences, as well as politer arts, and became not only one of the most cultivated writers, but also one of the most learned and accomplished men of his times.

The voluminous works of Boccaccio in mythology, geography, and history, to which we shall advert hereafter, fully attest his various and profound erudition. The acquisition of learning is the more honorable to him, as he commenced the study of letters late in life, and pursued it under an accumulation of disadvantages, of which it is not easy for us to form an adequate conception in our day. The invention of the art of printing has so immensely multiplied the copies of books, that learning is now as common as the very air we breathe. But then the scholar was obliged to plunge into the darkness of conventual cells in quest of the treasures of ancient lore, which lay buried there beneath the cobwebs and dust of centuries. He was compelled to proceed in his solitary path, without the illumination of criticism to guide his footsteps, painfully gathering up the strains of poetic inspiration from rolls of torn, defaced, and worm eaten parchment, or transcribing the oracles of philosophy from the lines of a *palimpsesta*, which the barbarism of monkish bigotry had sacrilegiously obscured for the reception of its superstitious legends. Nor, in the fourteenth century, did they possess any of those ample and abundant helps to learning, which have since rendered it as accessible to the peasant as the prince. The land was not then thronged with able professors in every depart-

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ment of human knowledge; nor was a multitude of schools established to diffuse the elements of science throughout the whole body of the people; nor were colleges and universities sprinkled all over the civilized world. We, therefore, in times when science has spread open her portals, and beckons all mankind to enter freely and bend before her shrine, cannot easily realise the situation of one, who aspired after her favor, and who, at the revival of letters, slowly won his way up the steep and laborious ascent, which then led to her temple. This consideration ought to increase our respect for men, who surmounted all these difficulties, and attained to so much well earned celebrity as did Boccaccio.

Among the remarkable circumstances in the studies of Boccaccio, we may mention his close intimacy with Petrarca. Their acquaintance began in 1350, Boccaccio being thirty seven years of age and Petrarca forty six, in the memorable year of the great jubilee, at which time they met in Florence, as Petrarca passed through it on his way to Rome, to unite there with the general assemblage of all the learning, wealth, rank, and beauty of christendom. The friendship, which arose between these two great scholars at this period, continued with them through life, each of them, in the constant interchange of letters and other friendly services, contributing to the improvement of the other, mutually communicating all their most secret thoughts, and zealously combining their common faculties for the advancement of learning. They cherished and admired each other's talents; and the tribute of public respect, which Boccaccio was the means, on one occasion, of communicating to Petrarca, served greatly to cement their union.

The family of the poet, as the admirers of him well know, was banished from Florence by the faction of the *Neri* in 1302, in the same year with Dante Alighieri, for his father's adhesion to the fallen party of the *Bianchi*. But in 1351, after the fame of Petrarca had spread far and wide throughout all Italy, after he had been solemnly crowned in the capitol as the prince of poets, before the applauding multitudes of Rome, when Naples, Venice, Padua, Milan, were contending for the possession of him, who was the glory of the Italian name, then it was that the Florentine republic, deeming the political sins of the parent atoned for by the celebrity of the son,

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strove to reclaim the poet to the land of his fathers, by restoring to him his confiscated patrimony, and soliciting him to fix his residence in the city of Florence. To enhance the value of the compliment, Boccaccio was charged with the grateful duty of presenting the request of the republic to his friend Petrarca, who, however, declined their solicitations, preferring to retire among the delightful solitudes of Vaucluse. But from this day the intimacy of the two friends continued close and unshaken till Petrarca's death, which was only a year before that of Boccaccio.

To Petrarca, and his friend Boccaccio, belong the merit of having introduced into modern Italy the study of Greek, and that, too, long before the dispersion of the Constantinopolitan exiles by the conquests of the Turks. Petrarca preceded his friend a few years in the study of a language and literature, which had so long been neglected by their countrymen; but Boccaccio applied to it with greater zeal than Petrarca, acquired more extensive knowledge of it, and did more towards rendering it familiar to the Italians. While Petrarca was learning the Greek language of the celebrated Calabrian monk Barlaamo, Boccaccio was acquiring it of Leonzio Pilato. These teachers were both natives of Calabria, where the Greek was still a spoken tongue. Leonzio had become deeply imbued with Greek erudition at Constantinople, and, being invited to Florence in 1360 by Boccaccio, founded there the first chair of public instruction in Greek, which, in modern times, was established in Western Europe. Leonzio is described by his patron and pupil as a man of rough aspect, deformed features, with a long beard, and a profusion of black hair, always immersed in thought, and of manners as rude as his person, but whose mind was, nevertheless, an inexhaustible storehouse of the history and literature of Greece. His immense erudition induced Boccaccio to overlook his defects of temper, manners, and person, to receive him into his own house, and to procure him a stipend from the city for a course of public lectures on Homer.

Boccaccio, after the death of his father, resided sometime at Naples, but chiefly at Florence; and in the mean time wrote and published various works, mostly of poetry and

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romance. His uncommon merits were soon discerned by his countrymen, and his fame passed rapidly from Florence over the rest of Italy. He was repeatedly employed by the state in the most important and most delicate negotiations, for which, by his enlarged mind and extensive travels, he was peculiarly fitted. His first embassy was to Romagna, whither he was sent to treat with Ostasio, or with Bernardino da Polenta, lord of Ravenna. The precise date of this mission is not well ascertained, being placed in 1347 by Tiraboschi, but three years subsequent by Baldelli, the latest biographer of Boccaccio. In 1351 he was sent to Padua, as we have already noticed, to invite Petrarca to Florence. The same year he was the ambassador of the republic to Lewis, Marquis of Brandenburg, son of Lewis the Bavarian, whom the Florentines solicited to cross the Alps, and reduce the power of the Visconti of Milan, then all powerful in Italy. In 1353, when it was rumored that Charles Fourth was about to enter Italy, the Florentines charged Boccaccio with an embassy to Pope Innocent Sixth at Avignon, to concert with him in what manner to receive the Emperor. He was invited to Naples in 1363 by Niccolo Acciajoli, grand seneschal of the kingdom; but, dissatisfied with his reception, which he considered less honorable than his merits demanded, he soon returned to Florence. Two years afterwards he was despatched a second time to the court of Avignon, to explain to Urban Fifth some circumstances in the conduct of the Florentines, at which the pontiff had been dissatisfied; and, again, in 1367 he was sent on another mission to the same pope, who was then at Rome, whither the papal see was just returned from Avignon. This was the last public embassy in which Boccaccio was employed by his countrymen; although not the last proof of their esteem for his character; for in 1373 he was appointed by the city to deliver a course of public readings on Dante. His lectures were received with great applause; and lectures on the Commedia, in imitation of them, were afterward pronounced by the historian Filippo Villani at Florence, and by Benvenuto da Imola at Bologna.

Boccaccio was accustomed to retire from the tumult, dissensions, and popular conflicts of the city to his little patrimony of Certaldo, to pursue his studies in tranquillity; and there he died, on the 21st of December, 1375, shortly after the

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death of Petrarca. He was honorably buried, and the following inscription, written by himself, was placed over his grave.

Hac sub mole jacent cineres ac ossa Johannis.
Mens sedet ante Deum, meritis ornata laborum
Mortalis vitæ; Genitor Boccaccius illi,
Patria Certaldum, studium fuit alma poesis.

The morals of Boccaccio, we regret to say, partook of the prevailing looseness and licentiousness of the times. His private life was by no means praiseworthy, and many of his writings, parts of the Decameron especially, bespeak a man of libertine principles, and a scoffer at things the most sacred and venerable.

A very singular incident in the private life of Boccaccio was his sudden conversion. His friendship for Petrarca, who, amid all his foibles, preserved a sincere respect for religious institutions, in some degree conduced to elevate the morals of Boccaccio. Petrarca frequently admonished him of the evil example and pernicious consequences of his conduct; but without a very marked permanent effect, until the enthusiasm, or the artifice, of a Carthusian friar produced an instantaneous change in his course of life, and rendered it as austere and ascetic as it before had been licentious. The circumstances are related by many authors; but the most particular account of them, which we have read, is that given by the Abbé de Sade. A Carthusian of Sienna, named father Petroni, who, after having wrought a multitude of miracles to the great satisfaction of the populace, while he lay on his deathbed, charged father Ciani, a monk of his order, to repair to Boccaccio and Petrarca, inform them that they had but a few years to live, and warn them instantly to reform their manners and writings, and to renounce poetry, and all profane studies, that they might dedicate the residue of their lives to the sole service of God. To convince Boccaccio of the supernatural source of this communication, the wily Carthusian acquainted him with a secret, which he thought was known to himself alone, on the discovery of which, seized with superstitious dread, and terrified by the idea of the near approach of death, he immediately reformed his manners, assumed the monastic habit, applied to the study of the saints and fathers, and determined to abandon love and poetry, and even part with his library, which con-

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sisted almost exclusively of profane authors. Petrarca, who viewed the subject a little more dispassionately, and pretty clearly intimated, that he looked upon the pretended prophecy as a pious fraud, dissuaded his friend from carrying his devotion to such extravagant excess; but thenceforth Boccaccio was an altered man. This happened in 1362, thirteen years before his death, and so far not altogether in accordance with one part of the good father's prophetic denunciation.*

In proceeding to give some account of the voluminous writings of Boccaccio, we shall begin with his Latin treatises, although the composition of them was chiefly the work of his later years. Of these the most celebrated is a book on the genealogy of the gods, in which he assembles all the apparatus of learning, which was then accessible, for the illustration of the fantastic mythology of the Greeks and Romans. Another book of his, on the Names of Mountains, Forests, Lakes, Rivers, and Seas, was among the first of modern geographies, in the compilation of which he derived no little aid from his own extensive personal knowledge of many parts of Europe. These works are neglected now, because the discovery of a great number of manuscripts then unknown, and the facilities afforded to study by the art of printing, have enabled us to push farther our researches into antiquity; and the use of them is now superseded by more learned and critical works on the same subjects. But, in the times when they were written, they attained the highest repute, and were considered little less than prodigies of erudition; and on these forgotten compilations, singular as we may now deem it, our author relied for his literary immortality. Two other works, the first on the Calamities of Illustrious Persons, and the second on Famous Women, were very popular reading in their day, so much so as to have been translated into many languages. These books are not composed in the pure and elegant Latinity of our classical models; but they gave Boccaccio the character of an unequalled scholar.

* The facts are well established by a letter from Boccaccio to Petrarca, still extant, in which the former recounts the whole affair, and offers the latter the *preemption* of his books in discharge of a debt. Petrarca's reply is full of sound reasoning and affectionate friendship, a translation of which may be seen in Dobson's Life of Petrarch. Vol. II. p. 298.

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Of poetry, Boccaccio published sixteen Latin Eclogues, which, however, do not display the greatest felicity of composition, and are not to be compared in merit with the Latin poems of Petrarca. He also composed a considerable number of poems in Italian; but, according to the consenting voice of the best critics, he possessed neither the elegance of style, nor quickness of fancy, nor force of sentiment, which should place him in the first rank of poets.

Still his poems are remarkable in more than one point of view. Among them are two heroic poems, *La Teseide* and *Il Filostrato*, which were the earliest attempts, in any modern tongue, to revive the ancient epopœia. Boccaccio perceived that the essence of epic poetry consisted in the invention, interest, and development of the action; and although he overdid the thing, and composed romances instead of poems, yet, as a later writer observes, 'abandoning the dull repetition of dreams and visions, he imagined a regular action or fable, and conducted it through different stages of adventure to its close,' and thus pointed out the proper course for his more gifted successors to follow. The *Teseide* has some additional claims on our attention, as having been translated, or rather imitated by Chaucer and Dryden. The Knight's Tale of Chaucer is not properly a translation of the *Teseide;* for the sire of English verse has abridged the prolix, and enlarged the poetical parts of his original, and compressed the whole into a concise and beautiful heroic tale; and when the language of Chaucer was grown obsolete, and his rich pages a sealed book to the common reader, Dryden transfused the ideas and the imagery of Chaucer into his spirited poem of Palamon and Arcite.

But the great merit of Boccaccio lay in his Italian prose. His life of Dante, and Commentary on the Divina Commedia, and the several larger romances, written by him, entitled *Il Filocopo*, *La Fiammetta*, *L'Ameto*, and *Il Corbaccio*, we may pass lightly over to arrive at the great monument of his genius and foundation of his fame, the Decameron. Of all the rest of his works, except this, we are not ashamed to say we know little ourselves. Few of them are ranked at this day among the Italian classics. We will merely pause, therefore, to remark, that they are the oldest specimens of romances of love; for they lead the way in that department of literature in modern times; and the ancients were utterly destitute of

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anything that deserves the name of a romance. These did not, like the romances of chivalry, flatter the imagination by recounting marvellous and impossible adventures; but went directly to domestic life, and the human heart, as it is found in society, for the sources of their interest. But all that we have to observe, on this point, will arise more appropriately out of the examination of the Decameron.

The scene of this celebrated performance is placed at Florence in the year 1348, when that proud and populous city was laid low in sorrow by the scourge of one of the most destructive plagues, which history records; a plague, which, in the complication of its horrors, and the extent of its ravages, is entitled to a mournful eminence beside those of Athens, Marseilles, and London. The description of this malady, which forms the introduction of the work, is justly esteemed one of the choicest morsels of the kind in the whole range of literature. The perfect truth of the description, the masterly skill with which the most striking circumstances are selected, to give us a distinct idea of the dreadful moral and physical effects of the pestilence, and yet to awake no disgust in our minds, and the unaffected emotion of the writer in unfolding the desolation of his beautiful city, invest this piece with all those attributes of genuine historic eloquence, which belong to the celebrated description by Thucydides of the plague of Athens.

This plague first broke out in the Levant, and moving on from place to place, finally, notwithstanding every precaution that human foresight could devise, made its appearance in the spring of the year at Florence. The malady was soon found to be contagious, and spread with frightful rapidity through the crowded population of the city. No sooner had the contagion become general, than all social order was at an end; the constituted authorities of the city ceased to possess any control over the people; every one became undisputed master of his own actions; and in this universal anarchy and misrule, abandoned miscreants rose up, who made the desolation of their fellow citizens the means of unhallowed gain, going from house to house, and despoiling the deserted palaces of their sumptuous plate and furniture, and even plundering the dead, or the dying in their last helpless agonies, of the very jewels they wore on their persons. Indeed the morbid

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selfishness and hardness of heart, engendered by constant familiarity with these scenes of horror, which sometimes led the best to abandon their friends to fate, and tempted the bad to such acts of profligate pillage, manifested itself in the whole conduct of the inhabitants. It was the usage in the city for the friends of a deceased person to assemble at his house, and sympathise with the afflicted family; but all the accompaniments of grief were now no more; the surviving relations, given up to a kind of intoxication of despair, converted the funeral solemnity into a revolting scene of laughter and noisy merriment.

But the manner in which those persons, who were yet in health, spent their time, was the most remarkable. One class, thinking to avoid the contagion by moderation in diet and by shunning all excesses, formed little parties, who shut themselves up from the world, paid no regard to whatever was passing without their doors, and, living temperately on the best of wines and viands, occupied their minds entirely with music and other agreeable but moderate recreations. Others, on the contrary, maintained free living to be the surest preservative, and accordingly they passed day and night in drinking, feasting, and every excess of vice, moving continually from tavern to tavern, taking possession of the untenanted mansions of the rich, and using all they contained as common property. Another class held a middle course between these two extremes, neither binding themselves to a strict diet like the one, nor indulging in intemperance like the other, but eating and drinking as their feelings dictated, going about as usual, only smelling constantly of spicery and aromatic herbs, by way of protection against the influences of contagion. A more numerous class, however, of those in easy circumstances, hurried away from the city, their friends, and their possessions, into the country, postponing every consideration to the love of life, and seeming to hold it a tempting of their fate to abide in a place thus doomed to destruction. But, not to dwell any longer on these painful objects, it is confidently affirmed that, within the space of five months, what by the neglect to which the sick were exposed, what by the inherent virulence of the pestilence, more than a hundred thousand souls perished within the walls of the city; so that many a magnificent dwelling was depopulated to the last servant; thousands in

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the prime of youthful vigor, who rose in the morning seemingly in perfect health, were carried out to their last long home before night; large families became entirely extinct, as if they had never been; and a multitude of vast possessions remained, without any living person to claim the inheritance.

It is amid these scenes of distress, that our author, with the truest insight into human nature, has laid the action of one of the most delightful and enchanting works of imagination. There is no inconsistency here; nothing could be more finely conceived. It is not merely, that the tragic nature of everything around places the smiling hilarity of the fable in higher relief, although this too has its weight; but it is the exquisite accordance of the design with the emotions of the heart in such a situation, that we most admire in the conception of the Decameron. We might have imagined, that melancholy objects would harmonise best with feelings of profound sorrow; but in that case we should judge superficially; for in fact the constant menace of death presented to us at every instant, in all we see, produces a moral inebriation; and then our passionate desire to escape from the contemplation of our dangers will cause a torrent of gaiety to flow over the heart, at the very moment when each exterior circumstance would seem calculated to dry up the fountains of joy.

At the height of the plague, then, our author imagines seven young ladies to have attended divine service in the city on a Tuesday morning, they being the whole congregation. After their devotions were over, being all intelligent, nobly descended, beautiful, highly accomplished in manners and mind, and united by close ties of blood or friendship, they withdrew into a vestibule of the church, and began to speak of their melancholy situation. At last, Pampinea, the eldest of the group, first observing that the desire to preserve life was among the strongest instincts of our nature, asked, why they should not follow the example of so many before them, who had forsaken the devoted city. If we walk out, said she, we are saluted only by the litters of the sick, or the palls of the dead borne along in the streets, or by the scum of the city insulting our grief with songs and indecent ballads; and if we remain at home, we must wander in solitude through our gloomy apartments, with the phantoms of our departed friends continually before our eyes. She proposed, there-

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fore, that they should retire together into the country, and occupy their different villas in succession, where the fresh air, the warbling of birds, the green hills and vallies waving with the future harvest, and the clear, bright canopy of heaven above them, might, in some degree, relieve their spirits from the pressure of calamity.

This plan was applauded by all her companions; only Philomena, one of them, objected, that their situation would be open to calumny, and even to danger from the lawless wretches, who were roaming about the country, unless they had some gentlemen in their company to afford them countenance and protection. This difficulty embarrassed the ladies exceedingly; but while they were consulting on the point, three gentlemen of their acquaintance entered the church, who were delighted with their project, and declared themselves ready to depart at a moment's warning. Orders were despatched into the country to prepare for their reception; and the next morning the whole party set off for a villa about two miles from the city. After they were arrived, one of the gentlemen, Dioneus, under which name Boccaccio is said to have described himself, told the ladies that, in accepting their invitation, he had left all his cares behind him, and unless they were of the same mood, he should speedily bid them farewell. Pampinea replied, that they were fully disposed to merriment

Within the limit of becoming mirth;

and, in order to regulate their diversions, she proposed that each of the company in rotation should act as head one day, the first to be elected by the whole, and each successor to be appointed by the king, or queen, of the preceding day. Accordingly Pampinea was chosen queen; and crowned with a laurel's wreath, as the ensign of sovereignty. The next day, when the sun became high, they retired into a meadow of deep grass sheltered from his rays; and in order to pass the time away agreeably, it was proposed, that each person should relate a story, or *novel*,* of some kind, for the entertainment

* It will be recollected by the Italian scholar, that the word *novella*, has a much wider meaning than our corresponding word. *Novella* signifies any *story*, whether it have a complete action or not, and oftentimes a joke, an apothegm, or a single adventure.

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of the company. The ten stories being concluded, they spent the rest of the day as they had the afternoon and evening before, in dancing, and singing, and conversation; and the next, and the following days, after the same manner; and thus are related the hundred novels, ten novels each day for ten days, which compose the Decameron.

The novels of the first day are on miscellaneous subjects. Those of the second are concerning persons, who, after being conducted by fortune through a variety of adverse vicissitudes, finally, beyond all hope, arrive at a happy issue. The two following days being Friday and Saturday, it was agreed to suspend their amusements, to be resumed again on Sunday; and on that day they removed to another more beautiful villa, which is depicted here with great fidelity, minuteness, and uncommon elegance of description, and is still pointed out to strangers as *Boccaccio's Villa.* The estate is called, *Il Podere della Fonte*, or the Farm of the Fountain, from a jet of water, which spouts up from a natural spring through a statue placed over a marble basin, and which supplies a constant stream of sufficient size to irrigate the whole of the grounds. This villa was formerly a domain of the Neroni di Nigi, but now belongs to the Pandolfini. Here the 'gay hermits' continued their amusements, and the subject of the third day was still the mutability of fortune; on the fourth, they discoursed of those whose love had terminated unfortunately; on the fifth, of what had terminated happily for lovers after the most cruel mischances; on the sixth, of persons who had successfully retorted some stroke of wit by a keen repartee, or by some prompt reply, or happy foresight, had averted peril or derision; on the seventh, concerning stratagems, with which wives had deceived their husbands; on the eighth, of tricks, such as are daily practised between different persons; on the ninth, concerning any subject which struck each one's fancy; and on the tenth and last, of persons, who, in whatever situation, had displayed uncommon liberality or magnificence. At the close of the tenth day, the party agreed to separate, and on the day following they returned to their respective homes in Florence.

Hoping we shall not have trespassed on the indulgence of our readers by going thus fully into a detail of the plan, we will now proceed to advert briefly to the literary history and

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merits of the Decameron. It was published in two parts, the first in 1353, and the second in 1358; and immediately upon the invention of printing, it was printed and circulated freely in Italy, until it was condemned, in the middle of the sixteenth century, by the Council of Trent; but the printing of corrected and *expurgated* editions was afterwards licensed by the popes, at the earnest solicitation of the grand duke of Tuscany. Since then innumerable editions of it, with every species of critical and historical illustration, have been printed in the original; and it has been translated and circulated in all the languages of Europe.

Some authors have accused Boccaccio of plagiarism; the French particularly, whose *sçavans*, like her warriors, are a little too prone to claim what is not theirs of right, undertake to say many of his tales are borrowed from the *fabliaux* and old romances. There can be little doubt, however, as to the fact. Boccaccio does not pretend to invent the fable of his novels. He simply gathers up the popular tales of the day, such as his reading, travels, or friends could furnish him with, adorns them with new incidents, and embodies the whole into his own spirited and beautiful narrative, the admitted model of Italian prose. The great passion then was for narrative poetry and narrative prose; and the novellists, like the trouveurs, drew from the same common source; and, therefore, neither are chargeable with plagiarism, because neither aspire to the merit of originality. The origin of that whole school of literature itself is another and wider field of inquiry, which we may not enter here; although the result of such inquiry, we imagine, would be to trace the whole up to an oriental fountain. The praise, however, which will not, and cannot be denied him, is that of having first rescued these entertaining compositions from the mouths of court buffoons and street jesters, and elevated them into a new class of literature, while succeeding ages, and other nations, have been proud to imitate their great master, without surpassing him in excellence.

What then is the extraordinary merit, which has conferred this rank on Boccaccio? It is the elegance of his style, his felicity and choice of expression, the rich variety of his subjects, the spirit and faithfulness of his delineations, the unaffected naïveté of his narrative, the dramatic eloquence of his dialogue, the poignancy of his satirical touches; it is from

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qualities like these, that he derives the celebrity of his name. He raises before us a moving panorama of life in all its complicated varieties. We cannot give an idea of the nature of the animated scene more clearly, than by translating the words of Ginguené. 'Priests, crafty and libertine as they were then,' says he, 'monks abandoned to luxury, gluttony, and debauch; duped and credulous husbands; artful and coquettish wives; the young devoted to pleasure, the old to gain; oppressive and cruel lords, frank and courteous knights; ladies either frail and addicted to gallantry, or else generous and proud, often the victims of their weakness, and tyrannised over by jealous husbands; pirates, banditti, hermits, workers of false miracles, and of tricks of jugglery; persons, in short, of every condition, country, age, all with their appropriate costume of passions, habits, and language; these are the objects, which fill up this immense picture, and which men of the severest taste are never weary of admiring.' Nothing could be more exact than the view Ginguené thus gives of the Decameron. And yet Boccaccio looked upon the work as a slight thing thrown out, if we may so speak, in a frolic of the imagination, and prized himself on his heavy compilation of heathen criticisms; but posterity, more just than himself to his fame, has allowed the latter to sink, as they were floating down the tide of time, while the lighter graces of the former have kept them buoyant above the stream, to remain an imperishable monument of his genius.

We will not stop to recount the numerous imitators of Boccaccio, who immediately sprang up in Italy. Nor will we examine how much the poets and dramatists of later times are indebted to him; just observing, as we pass, that many of La Fontaine's fables, two of Molière's best comedies, *George Dandin* and *L'Ecole des Maris*, Lope de Vega's *Discreta Enamorada*, and several others of the best pieces in foreign literature, are extracted from the treasures of the Decameron. We will pause only on English literature a moment, where we find, not to speak of meaner authors, that Chaucer, Shakspeare, and Dryden, are under great obligations to Boccaccio. Witness several of the finest among the *Canterbury Tales*, which Chaucer took from our author, and which Dryden wrought up into some of the most gorgeous and majestic of his Fables. Witness the whole plot, many of the particular

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incidents, and the very names of the principal persons in *All 's Well that Ends Well*, which may be traced to Boccaccio's Giletta di Nerbona. Witness, finally, some of the finest parts of *Cymbeline*, borrowed, the commentator Stevens to the contrary notwithstanding, from the Bemabo da Genova of the Decameron. All these instances will attest the early and wide popularity, and the genuine merits of Boccaccio.

We wish we could close our article here, and were not obliged, in justice to historic truth, to subjoin that many of the tales in the Decameron are disgraced by the most unpardonable impurities; a circumstance, which, as we have already intimated, fastens a deep stain, indelibly deep, on the memory of Boccaccio. But, in his latter years, he most bitterly lamented the immoral tendency of portions of his writings, and desired in vain to recall the winged messenger of corruption, which had flown forth among men, and could no longer be stayed in its course. The taste and moral sense of our own days would effectually interdict the composition of such tales; but Boccaccio did only what the feelings and manners of his age sanctioned. And yet this was an age of incipient illumination; and slight as must have been the elevation, or the influence of women, it was an age, when Italy was the commercial medium of the world, and the asylum of letters, arts, and refinement, adorned with the superb paintings of the modern masters, and all those magnificent structures, which signalised the pomp of the great cities and families, the taste of the Medici of Florence, the splendor of the Visconti of Milan, of the Gonzaghi of Mantua, and of the yet more princely Ferrarese House of Este.

But, notwithstanding all these outward indications of highly cultivated manners, the fact that a work, like the one we have examined, was avowedly published for the recreation of the female sex, is enough to show what was, in truth, the moral standard of the times. The Decameron abounds in the delineations of domestic incidents, manners, and scenery; and we cannot suppose the character of women, as it then existed, would be mistaken or misrepresented by so acute an observer, and so faithful a painter as Boccaccio. The brilliancy on the surface of things, of which we have spoken, arose more from the political revolutions of wealthy states, than from genuine refinement. Many of the first cities of Italy were just

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becoming subject to absolute princes, either elected by the people, who flew to despotism as a refuge from anarchy, or exalted into dominion by intrigue and arms. These new masters of governments, which before were popular, displayed an unbounded profusion of luxury, that they might intimidate their enemies, and retain the respect of their friends by the show of power, and still more, that they might divest the minds of their freeborn subjects from the galling sense of subjection. The magnificence of the Estensi, the Gonzaghi, the Carraresi, the Scaligeri, and the Visconti, was nothing but the *panis et circenses*, with which Augustus amused the turbulent populace of Rome.

ART. V.—*The Natural History of the Bible; or a Description of all the Quadrupeds, Birds, Fishes, Reptiles, and Insects, Trees, Plants, Flowers, Gums, and Precious Stones, mentioned in the Sacred Scriptures. Collected from the best Authorities, and alphabetically arranged.* By THADDEUS MASON HARRIS, D. D. Boston. Wells & Lilly. 1820. 8vo. pp. 476.

AT the time when our common English version of the Bible was made, Sacred Geography, and the Natural History of Palestine, and, in general, of the countries with which the authors of the different sacred writings were acquainted, were in a very imperfect state; much more so than at present. Hence it was, that the translators frequently rendered the names of places and of natural objects with great uncertainty; and sometimes did not translate them at all, except by writing them in English letters. 'There be many words,' they say, in their Preface to the reader, 'which be never found in the Scriptures but once, having neither brother nor neighbor, as the Hebrews speak, so that we cannot be holpen by conference of places. Again, there be many rare names of certain birds, beasts, and precious stones, &c. concerning which the Hebrews themselves are so divided among themselves for judgment, that they may seem to have defined this or that, rather because they would say something, than be-

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cause they were sure of that which they said, as St Hierome somewhere saith of the Septuagint.' Indeed, the Hebrew Rabbinical writers are, in general, very unsafe guides. Their works are too often filled with idle vagaries, which mislead the credulous, and make us willing that the modern commentator should divine a meaning for himself, be the chance ever so little of his divining rightly.

Since the English translation of the Bible, now in general use, was completed, much has been done to ascertain the natural history of that part of the world, which was known to the Hebrews, in order to illustrate their sacred writings. Still the common reader of his English Bible believes, that *Whale* means *Whale*, and *Behemoth* and *Leviathan* mean anything, which presents itself to their imagination. And what, at first sight, seems remarkable in this case is, that the more the knowledge of all subjects subsidiary to the illustration of the Sacred Scriptures has advanced, the greater is the general prejudice against a new translation of them. But we have no intention of examining the merits of this subject. Our present purpose is to speak of some of the more distinguished writers mentioned by Dr Harris, from whom every one, who would thoroughly examine the Natural History of the Bible, must select his materials.

In regard to the Botanical part, Dr Harris names, as his primary authorities, Hiller and Celsius, the latter of whom is spoken of with great respect by Linnæus, as the most consummate *Polyhistor* of his age. Though this friend and patron of Linnæus devoted a great part of a long life to the illustration of the plants mentioned in the Scriptures, yet he did it under so many disadvantages, that Linnæus, in the interval between the publication of the first and second volumes of the *Hierobotanicon* of Celsius, (1745—1752) mentioned a *Flora Palæstina* as among the *desiderata;* and declared that whoever should visit the Holy Land, and make a collection of the plants of Palestine, would be immortalised by theologians. Stimulated by these remarks, which fell from Linnæus in one of his lectures, Hasselquist, then a student of medicine, bent all his efforts to the accomplishment of the great and difficult undertaking. Having already made great advances in Natural History, he studied the Arabic language, and with much difficulty and delay procured scanty pecuniary

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means for his expedition. When he arrived at Smyrna, says Linnæus, he was treated with the utmost hospitality by the Consul General, who sent him to Egypt, and having remained at Cairo about a year, he pursued his travels through Arabia and Palestine, diligently collecting all the plants he could find, and describing the animals and stones which he met with. After his return to Smyrna, he died of the disease under which he had long labored, and his creditors took possession of his manuscripts and collections. The Queen of Sweden redeemed them, and directed Linnæus to arrange and publish the writings of Hasselquist, at the same time giving to him specimens of all the plants of which she had duplicates. Of these Linnæus gave an account in his *Flora Palæstina*, to which he added a few that were collected by Pococke, Rauwolf, and Shaw.

Bruce, whose reputation as an authority has, contrary to that of some travellers, increased with the increasing knowledge obtained of the countries which he visited, contributed considerably to the stock of information concerning the Natural History of the Bible. Preparatory to his great expedition, he studied the Oriental Languages at Algiers, with great zeal and diligence; and from a knowledge of the original languages of the Scriptures, he claims an advantage over previous travellers in the East, who were either not at all, or but very superficially acquainted with those languages. He made it a rule also, in describing plants and animals which he saw, to prefer those mentioned in Scripture, particularly where doubts had arisen among translators and commentators. To these authorities on the subject of Plants, Dr Harris adds Dioscorides and Pliny, among the ancients, and Alpinus, Rauwolf, Shaw, Russell, Forskal, and others, among the moderns.

The author's leading authority concerning the Animals mentioned in Scripture is Bochart, a learned orientalist of the seventeenth century. His *Hierozoicon*, which, as its name imports, relates to the animals spoken of in the sacred writings, was printed at London in 1663. Great accessions have been made to this department of knowledge since that period, giving certainty to what was doubtful, and correcting what was erroneous; yet it seems, for the most part, that the opinions of this indefatigable scholar are confirmed by the

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testimony of the most learned and intelligent travellers since the period in which he wrote. Dr Harris, though one might apprehend from his preface, that he had relied too unhesitatingly on Bochart, is not wanting in the examination of subsequent authorities, and giving them their due weight in coming to his own decisions.

Another authority, confined to no particular department of the Natural History of the Bible, is J. J. Scheuchzer, who died in 1731. His great work, entitled in the French translation *Physique Sacrée*, embraces a wide range of inquiry and speculation, not only concerning the Natural History of the Bible, but everything remarkable in the works of art. He professed 'to have sought the true sense of Hebrew, Chaldee, Arabic or Greek words, pertaining to the subjects of his inquiries; to have collected from travellers, who have written concerning natural history, geography, botany, animals, and fossils, whatever regards the nature of the Oriental climate, constitution of their inhabitants, plants, animals, and minerals; and to have examined, with much labor, the names given by the Turks, Arabs, Persians, and other nations of the East, to different things, which compose natural history.' It may be supposed, that in eight folio volumes on the subjects above enumerated, there would be enough, and more than enough, both of that which depends on evidence, and of that which is merely theoretical; but to an author, who knows how to separate the wheat from the chaff, superfluity, though often troublesome, does not produce loathing or disgust. It was, we presume, by such a spirit of patient inquiry, that Dr Harris was enabled to endure the strange vagaries of Parkhurst, for the sake of what so fearless a theorist might sometimes, even by his boldness, contribute towards probability and truth. One, who compares and judges for himself, may be trusted, where it would be unsafe for the mere novice or the credulous student to venture.

Of Scheuchzer, whom we have already mentioned, Dr Harris has made principal use for determining the serpents and insects mentioned in Scripture. Rudbeck is his principal authority for the fishes, and Lemnius and Braunius for the minerals and precious stones.

In the use he has made of the authors above mentioned,

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and of various others, which such a distinguished bibliographer was naturally led to consult, Dr Harris manifests a due discrimination, and puts it in the reader's power generally, in cases of doubt, to weigh the evidence for himself. Fully persuaded, therefore, as we are of the author's fidelity, and of his competency to the work, to the completion of which his favorite studies have long been directed, the most important question remaining regards the necessity or utility of such a work.

We are always pleased to see works on subjects of common interest, comprising in a small compass, what before could not be found without access to voluminous authors and extensive libraries. The benefit extends beyond common readers; for scholars are often glad to be saved the labor of examining a multitude of writers, by one who has already gone through the process, or at least to be referred to original sources. The work before us is limited in its object, and without being prolix is generally sufficiently full. We know not of any other book on the same plan; and it is not rendered superfluous by late English translations of separate books of the Sacred Writings, or by running commentaries on the same. Such translations are not generally known or read, and popular commentaries and notes are not remarkable for settling difficulties, or teaching clearly what is imperfectly known. Calmet's *Dictionary of the Bible*, which grew out of his massy Commentaries, with all its reduction in the latest English edition, is still voluminous and expensive. It contains, as it ought, a great variety of matter, and sometimes what might well be spared. What pertains to Natural History forms only a proportional part, and is not always distinguished by the good judgment of its author. Lamy, in his *Introduction to the Scriptures*, devotes a part of it to Natural History. He professes to speak of those Animals, which are not sufficiently known, and of which it is necessary we should know some of the properties, before we can understand what the Scripture says of them. In the same manner also he speaks of what is embraced in the other branches of Natural History. But as the author's plan was not limited to this part of the contents of the Bible, we are obliged to look for what relates to it among other matter, and do not find it always so fully and satisfactorily treated as could be desired.

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Dr Harris is entitled to the thanks of the public, for having brought within a reasonable compass the most valuable materials on the subjects of which he treats; for having arranged them in a convenient method; and, in general, for having arrived at his own conclusions, on the best evidence which the subjects admit.

In order fully to understand the Sacred Writings, a knowledge of whatever is local and peculiar becomes important. Not the least important, as contributing to the illustration of Scripture, is Natural History. The poetical books of the Hebrews, in particular, abound in lively comparisons, local allusions, and strong metaphors, drawn from material objects, whose most powerful charms arise from their individuality. The real import of the sentiment, expressed by such allusions and metaphors, must be gathered from a knowledge of the objects on which they are founded. Much of the poetry of the Hebrews, like that of every people of a remote age, partakes largely of the pastoral kind, resulting from the personal occupation of the authors, or the common condition of mankind. David was called from feeding his father's flocks to receive the royal unction, and afterwards returned to his accustomed pursuits. To enjoy the beauty of the pastoral scenery, which is so often alluded to in the Hebrew Scriptures, one should have some knowledge of the climate and natural productions of the country which furnishes it; and everything which tends to make the sacred Scriptures more engaging to the mass of readers, by illustrating what is obscure, is a great good. 'These illustrations,' says Dr Johnson, 'though they do not immediately rectify the faith, or refine the morals of the reader, yet are by no means to be considered as superfluous niceties or useless speculations; for they often show some propriety of allusion utterly undiscoverable by readers not skilled in the natural history of the East; and are often of more important use, as they remove some difficulty from narratives, or some obscurity from precepts.'

We have no disposition to discover any faults in a work, which is so far generally well performed; but some of our learned readers might think, that we have examined it very carelessly or superficially, should we omit to mention them.

The author gives the Hebrew names in the letters of the Hebrew language, under the English names, which latter are

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arranged in alphabetical order. If it be important that the former should be given at all, and it is important to one who has any acquaintance with the language, great care should be taken to secure accuracy. But we regret to find such a want of accuracy in the printing of the Hebrew names, as to lead us to suppose, that the author exercised a too cursory revision of the press in this particular, where he alone must be responsible. There are also some inaccuracies in referring to passages of Scripture; a kind of fault which is well known to be very trying to a scholar's patience.

Another fault, somewhat connected with the one first mentioned, is a want of consistency in the writing of the Hebrew words in English letters. This fault pervades the whole work; and though it does not seem in itself very important, yet as the author is not, and therefore does not wish to be thought, a mere compiler, it belonged to him to preserve uniformity and consistency with himself.

On the whole, however, we cheerfully recommend the work both to the learned and the unlearned reader, as containing about all that can be known on the subjects which successively occur. Many of the articles will be read with great interest; and in those in which curiosity is most concerned, the author, in a form as much abridged as their nature would admit, has exhausted all the learning of naturalists and travellers, and, as we believe, has generally come to the right results.

ART. VI.—*Memorable Days in America, being a Journal of a Tour to the United States, principally undertaken to ascertain by positive Evidence the Condition and probable Prospects of British Emigrants; including Accounts of Mr Birkbeck's Settlement in the Illinois; and intended to show Men and Things as they are in America.* By W. FAUX, an English Farmer. London.

THIS work reached us shortly after its publication in London, but we turned from it as beneath notice. We treated it, as we have generally done the Fearons, the Jansons, the Hewlets, and the various other paltry adventurers, who come

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over to this country to make their fortunes by speculation, and, being disappointed in the attempt to jump into riches without industry, without principle, without delay, return to England and pander to the taste for American calumny, in order to pay the expenses of the expedition, by the sale of their falsehoods. We have supposed, that works of this kind had now nearly lost their access to all that class of the English community, whose opinion of a foreign nation could be worth conciliating; and, at all events, we felt it a degrading occupation to come in any degree in contact with these sorry fellows. We should be at a loss to suggest a humiliation to a person of common honor and virtue, like that of following one of these creatures, step by step, in a country, where, as a foreigner, he finds access to society, such as he sees only at an awful distance at home, and where he gratifies the basest of all passions, and takes vengeance for his own vulgarity and want of principle, by seasoning the dish of slander of this country, to the strength of the appetite for detraction in England.

The only circumstance, which has ever called us out, in reference to these gentry, is the adoption of their trash by men of respectability, and by literary journals of commanding character. When the Earl of Grey and Baron of Howick calls the journeyman stocking weaver a gentleman, and when the Quarterly Reviewer espouses the slanders of the 'Somersetshire clodhopper,' we then think them both to rise into an importance not their own, and to merit the notice we should otherwise disdain to take of them. The article on Faux's book, in the fifty eighth number of the Quarterly Review, has decided us to ask the attention of the public to the book and its reviewer. The former is too despicable to need an elaborate analysis; the latter appears under a name, which calls for a more careful retort. If we mistake not, we shall succeed in showing, that the notice of the work in the Quarterly Review, instead of raising Faux to the authority of a respectable writer, sinks his critic to the level of a base slanderer, and leads to some curious inferences as to the state of the English press.

We are aware of the apparent indelicacy of attempting publicly to give the names of the authors of anonymous publications. But as the writer of this Review has taken no small liberties with private names, on no better authority than that

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of Faux, and as the whole tenor of the article is such, as to deprive it of all benefit of courtesy, we shall take the liberty, in what we have to say on this occasion, to attribute the article in question to Mr Gifford, who is mentioned to us by very good private authority as its writer, and who, at all events, is responsible for it as the editor of the Journal. In thus openly naming, however, the person accountable for this slanderous publication, we are not preparing to regale him with the thrice told tale of personal abuse, which every number of his Review draws on his Editorial shoulders. We do not intend to leave him that consolation, which the editors of critical journals, perhaps too easily, allow themselves, that it is in vain to please all; and that those who are displeased will rail. But we intend to state to him, as to a gentleman, our opinion of his conduct, in not only lending the authority of the journal under his control to the purposes of detraction, but himself taking the active part in circulating it.

And one word, before we proceed, to a certain class of our own countrymen. When the outrageous abuse of this country, originating in the renegades and speculators, who infest us, has been espoused and reasserted by the first literary journals in England, by leading statesmen, and in the houses of parliament; and when an American author, or an American journalist, with blood somewhat stirred, yields to the impulse, not so much of patriotism as of human nature, and replies to the charge, there are some few persons among us, who cry out, 'a truce to this literary warfare,' 'enough of this angry contention,' and the like. Now we have invariably found that these persons, some of whom speak with very dignified aspect, and carry a world of magnanimity in their tone, are annoyed only by the American rejoinder. Not one of them cries 'a truce,' when the poisoned dart is thrown; but they are all wondrous pacific, when it is to be met and warded off. These people are impatient, not when the American character is attacked, but when it is defended; and when the chafed lion roars and menaces his hunters, they protest it is a testy beast always picking a quarrel. No one will think we make these remarks at random. We know the times, the occasions, and the men; and we practise an undeserved forbearance, in not calling them more distinctly into recollection.

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Mr Faux's book, and the Quarterly Review of it, start with a barefaced misstatement of the object, which brought him to America. This, in the worthy traveller himself, is of less consequence, because in the course of his work he betrays his own secret. In the Reviewer, the misrepresentation is highly disingenuous; and being done upon a system on which he has habitually acted, it deserves to be exposed. It is this,—to pick up a sorry fellow, call him a gentleman, a man of intelligence, and of observation, or if he be downright doltish and barbarian, pronounce him a straight forward, plain spoken, honest creature; and, thus prepared, proceed to quote his ribaldry; and when you have done, aver, that 'it is not we who say these hard things, but our honest, intelligent traveller, who went to America full of admiration of the country, and with the express purpose of seeing things as they are.' After quoting some of the ridiculous protestations of Faux, as to the objects of his visit, the Reviewer insidiously adds, 'from such a man, and with such an object in view, one practical page is worth all the radical trash of the Halls, the Wrights, and the Tell Harris's, in enabling us to form a just estimate of an emigrant's prospects in "the land of boasted liberty;" for, to use his own words, "I have endeavored to take the reader with me, that he may see, taste, and know things as they are, &c."' It is true, Faux uses these expressions, and, even on his title page, has the folly to set forth that his tour was 'principally undertaken to ascertain the condition and prospects of British emigrants.' Now it so happens, that his tour was undertaken for no such object. He came to America on an agency for a real estate in South Carolina, some of his maternal relations having been of that state, and refugees in the revolutionary war.

This we not only know from private information, but from four express statements to that effect by Faux himself. He even puts the affair in so prominent a light, as to call it the object of his *mission*, a term which, notwithstanding the uniform barbarity of his style, he can hardly be supposed to have used of anything but the principal object of his journey. 'I find that James Gregory, Esq. a gentleman to whom I brought an introductory letter, stands at present much in the way of my *mission*.' p. 49. 'Nathaniel Russell, Esq. is near ninety years old, very courteous and friendly, and will-

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ing to give any assistance in promoting the object of my *mission*, being the original trustee to the estate of my late matrimonial (?) uncles.' p. 43. To leave no possible doubt of what this business was, he tells us again, p. 79. 'As I, *in the execution of the objects of my mission*, had called on Mr Gregory to give an account of his long stewardship, in the affairs of the Rugely property, and wanted money of him, I was not a very welcome guest.' Notwithstanding these statements from his own pen, this person has the impudence in his preface to say, 'the motives, which induced me to visit America, and afterwards to give to the public the results of my experience, originated in many favorable prepossessions for that country, and in a strong desire to ascertain the naked truth in all particulars, relating to emigration to that land of boasted liberty.' And this falsehood is reasserted by the Reviewer, who, after having culled the more detestable portions of the whole farrago, adds, 'be it remembered that this unfavorable account of the American population is not ours, but that of a man, who calls America "the land of his adored Washington, the country of his fondest prejudices and predilections," and who evidently set out with a strong desire of finding it all that he had pictured it to himself, and just the reverse of what he saw, heard, and has published.' No language readily offers itself to us to express the disdain, with which we observe this disingenuousness. If anything can exceed the meanness of falsehood, it is espousing the falsehood of another; and he such a creature as this.

The rage of detraction of this *missionary* is so great, that he begins while in the ports of England; and intending to slander the American ship, in which he had taken passage, unluckily fixes on points, which, if true, would establish only the frauds of Englishmen. Thus, while lying in the harbor of Portsmouth, he is poisoned by the eating of chickens and a pig, which had died from sickness; and before he is well at sea his captain finds, that 'the beef and porter, (bought for good,) are good for nothing, the former having been a voyage to the East Indies.' The same paragraph, which contains this compliment to the provision dealers of the London market, informs us, that 'navigators up the Mississippi river frequently steal from ten to twenty sheep at once from the farmers, and think it no crime. Captain Wise, when there,

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acknowledges he saw his crew dressing several sheep so stolen, and forbade them not; only telling them they should not let him know of such thefts.' This silly trash is copied by the Quarterly Reviewer, who is a perfect gudgeon when America is to be abused. He forgot that flocks of sheep so large and numerous, that ten or twenty at once can be frequently stolen from them, do not agree very well with the representation, which he himself gives us of the 'population now thinly spread over the immense vale of the Mississippi, before the forests and cane brakes are cleared away, the dismal cypress swamps drained, and the rotten bottoms, and rank prairies are reclaimed from their stagnant and putrid water.' He forgets, too, that frequently stealing ten or twenty sheep at a time is a practice, which accords but ill with the keenness and mercenary thrift, which he uniformly ascribes to the American character. Where are these semicivilized savages, the *owners* of the sheep, while 'ten or twenty at a time are frequently stolen?' Where are their rifles, which according to him they are so prompt to use? Who does not perceive, that the whole is a pure fiction, not only not true, but impossible; and if true, then a direct contradiction of the Reviewer's other accounts of the condition of the soil and the state of the manners of America? We join him, however, in the insipid quotation from Faux, with which he closes this his first specification; 'Poor honesty, how art thou disregarded!'

Our traveller proceeds with a number of bugbear stories relative to the vessel, in which he was embarked, and her captain; and finally quits it for the Hamilton, with which they fell in at sea. The vulgar admiration, which Faux expresses of the accommodations to be found on board the Hamilton, a vessel homeward bound after a trading voyage of three or four years, and three months from port, shows what he had been used to at home.

'I now,' says he, 'took my leave of the Ruthy, and returning with them found my new captain a generous, gentlemanly man, having a noble vessel stored with pigs, poultry, turtles, and goats (for milk) all alive and fat from Canton city. There was besides on board a profusion of China sweetmeats, Jamaica rum, old oily brandy, and wine, and new bread on table daily; and at night a Chinese bed of

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down to receive me, all from Asia, the Sandwich Islands, and the North West Coast of the American Continent.'

This passage will doubtless recall to our readers the remark of Mr Cobbett, with respect to the breakfast, which he gave one of this same class of travellers, by whom he was afterwards vilified, 'that it was such a breakfast as the fellow had never before tasted.'

In the Gulf Stream the Hamilton was overtaken by a violent gale. In our author's balderdash eloquence, 'the morning dawned with a most dismal frowning aspect; the air being full of blue fire and crashing thunder; and the sea rising and falling over, on, and around us, like swelling mountains of liquid fire. This is the last day of March, and was expected to be the last of our lives.' In such a gale as this, what is the complaint which this *gentleman* makes of 'the generous and gentlemanly commander,' who had given him a passage across the Atlantic, with such fare as he had never before conceived of, but in his youthful dreams of a lord mayor's dinner. 'The captain, during yesterday's gale, sulked, and would eat nothing, *nor suffer anything eatable to be cooked;* I was therefore PINING twenty four hours, *on tea, coffee, wine, China sweetmeats, and dry hard buiscuits.*'

Mr Faux arrives at Boston, which he calls the 'grand emporium of Yankee land.' How accurate and true his observations are, will appear from a remark, in the journal of the first day.

'As Sunday here vanishes with daylight, I went in the evening to the townhall, to Caucus, a grand political meeting of thousands of the Mobocracy met to deliberate upon the choice of state governor, &c. The orators on the present occasion, being principally well educated federalists, seemed some of them eloquent and ingenious abusers of the democrats, *who angrily retorted on their opponents.* Thus I found two strong parties' &c.

This, in an account given from distant recollection, might pass for a pardonable slip of the memory. But in a journal, written like this, from day to day, it is downright falsehood. The Quarterly Reviewer, who on another occasion boasts his accurate knowledge of American customs, copies this ridiculous error as to a Caucus. But Faux's circumstantial falsehood does not stop here. The owner of the Hamilton, mis-

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taking him for a gentleman, took him home to dinner, which gives our traveller an opportunity of relating what was said at the table, evidently the first with a white cloth upon it, at which he ever sat down. Among the observations, which he ascribes to his host, whom he calls 'a very strong federalist,' is this; 'the caucus, which you attended on Sunday night, *embodies the respectable part of the citizens, federalists and democrats.*' This is representing men and things as they are in America!

The true character of this gentleman begins to appear as he leaves Boston.

'I also called on,' says he, 'and bid a final farewell to my friend Mr ——— [a friend to whom he brought no letters, and with whom he had no acquaintance, but that formed by an introduction on the Exchange,] who very kindly put into my hand an introductory letter to his bankers and agents at Charleston, with a liberal purse of dollars, which he thought I should need before I could arrive at my destination. [He was to go by water.] *This purse was unsolicited,* and received *without absolute necessity* on my part, and without giving him any security. I took it principally for the sake of the singular confidence and liberality shown in the circumstance, and for the same reason here record it. "Take, Sir," said he, "more money." "O, this is more than enough," replied I. "What enough? Take more," ' &c.

We shall now accompany our author on the way to Charleston, and extract such passages as show his qualifications as a traveller. Intoxicated as he was with the attentions he received in Boston, so much so that he begins one day's journal,—'Seemed pleased with everything and everybody, and everybody with me,'—'scarce hoping to find another Boston,'—he yet has the preposterous impudence to say, 'It is no unusual thing for some of the people of this country, on going to Charleston, to take *their (?) free negroes with them* and sell them for slaves, by way of turning a penny, or, as they say, making a good *spec.*' He arrived at Charleston about the time when Mr Monroe was expected there, on his tour through the Southern States. Mr Faux 'walked several miles on a dusty, sandy road, under a scorching sun, in expectation of seeing or meeting his Excellency, the President of the United States, who this morning made his public entry into this city. *But he passed by me in the tumultuous crowd, quite unobserved.*' Astonishing rudeness!

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The real object of Mr Faux in America, as we have observed, was to hunt up an inheritance from his maternal uncles. On this errand he visits his cousins in the interior of the state, and finds one of them in an establishment consisting of *one room*, the only one, Mr Faux informs us, in the house. His other cousin, Major ——— a neighbor of this stately mansion, 'was not at home, but his wife, a young thoughtful woman, with two babes, received me kindly, and in a patriarchal style found food for me and my guides, and provender for our beasts. [Enough to make any woman thoughtful.] *The house has only three rooms; no chambers, nor any windows of glass.*' On his journey from the residence of these well provided cousins, Mr Faux was 'overtaken in the forest by a tremendous storm of wind, hail, rain, thunder, and lightning. Huge trees fell around us, *houses were unroofed*; and we were exposed to all its fury in our chaise under a tree. The air seemed full of thunderbolts, insomuch that I fancied myself shot through and through.' This unroofing must have been a serious thing indeed to Mr Faux's cousins, whose houses had neither of them a second story, and one of them but a single room. Next to downright exposure in the open air, we should count the unroofing of a house consisting of one room.

Before accompanying our traveller from Carolina, we shall notice a few of the cases in which he has sinned against truth, probability, and decency, in his account of what he saw in that state. We begin with the gravest article, relative to the murder of a slave, of which the Quarterly Reviewer has quoted the essentials, and added to them a false assertion made in his own person. We quote the abstract given of this affair in the Quarterly, as being more concise than that of Faux himself.

'Mr Faux had the misfortune to be present at the digging up of the body of a slave, who had been wantonly whipped to death, and buried privately, by the hands of his master. Indignant at such an atrocious deed, and determined to expose it, he procured all the particulars of the horrid transaction, which he published in a Letter, signed with his name, in the Charleston Courier. The same day he received a message from the Governor, desiring him to wait on the Attorney General, to make an affidavit of the facts he had stated. He accordingly waited on Mr Attorney General, who, after a short lecture on the imprudent step he had taken, as

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"staining the character of South Carolina," asked him if he could give personal evidence? Having replied in the negative, the visit ended by the Attorney General promising to get Kelly (the perpetrator of the murder) indicted;—*but the learned gentleman has not yet redeemed his promise.*—pp. 344, 345.

Now we intend on this occasion to show to the dullest observer, not the want of principle of these wretched vagabonds who infest our country, but the disingenuousness and fraud of the Reviewer who quotes them. The simple facts of the case were these. A slave was barbarously whipped to death by one Kelly, near Camden, and, to conceal the crime, *was secretly buried.* It became, however, known in the neighborhood, a jury of inquest was summoned, and the body dug up, to ascertain the cause of the death. The sagacious Mr Faux, being on his travels in this quarter, passed at the moment that the body was disinterred; saw it, heard the remarks likely to be made with such an object in sight; and, without waiting for the result of the inquest, continued his journey to Charleston. Arrived there, he immediately published a letter in the Courier, signed by his name, in his own style of Somersetshire eloquence, and relating as facts all that he had heard in riding by the spot where the occurrence took place, accompanied with various phrases, scandalously unjust in their imputation on the humanity of the Carolinians. We make the following extracts from the letter, omitting a few lines too painful to be quoted.

'Sir, On my way to this city, from a short tour through the interior of the state, a few days ago, twenty miles west of Columbia, I was suddenly attracted to a spot of earth, over which a respectable company of citizens were deeply intent on witnessing the exhumation of the body of an animal, costing 1200 dollars; but which its humane owner, (one Kelly,) and three other persons like minded, seized and tied to a tree at midnight, and each in turn wantonly whipped till sunrise, when from excessive lashing——it expired, and was instantly buried in a private corner on Sunday the 23d ult. But, on inquiry, the said animal proved to be a negro, and by some was thought to be of the human species; and stood "guilty of having a skin not colored like our own;" an offence for which these arbiters of life and death doomed it to die.—

'Good God, exclaimed I, where am I? on the earth, which thou hast created, and did once pronounce blessed, or in the Pandemonium of the heathen? [Query, heathen.] Heaven I knew it could

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not be, for a cruel task master had just crossed my path. Is it then, I continued, free America? An asylum for the oppressed and distressed of all other lands; the land of my adored Washington; the adopted country of my dearest friends; the only country on this huge, cursed earth [polite] where liberty finds an ark, or rest for the sole of her pained foot; and the country to which I came with every fond prejudice and predilection! What! free and yet offer up human sacrifice! Monstrous anomaly! Go; fly these hasty lines through the world, and challenge offended humanity to produce a spectacle so genuinely hellish or so purely demoniacal! Did, Sir, ever a Sabbath sun dawn on a catastrophe so abhorrent to your feelings, or those of, Sir, Your most obedient servant?

W. Faux.'

We should suppose, that a manner of thinking and expressing one's thoughts, so contemptible as this, might have protected from farther notice, what, in any decent man, would have been a criminal interference with the course of public justice. Had some roystering young midshipman taken the thing up, and called Mr Faux somewhat rudely to account, it would have been quite natural; and if one of those industrious gentlemen, *Vindex*, or *Verax*, or *Corrector*, had stepped forth in the next day's Courier, with a half column of the same kind of eloquence, the business would have been in a fair and proper train. An atrocious murder of a slave was said to have been committed; the very time and circumstances of the crime were creditable to the state of public feeling in Carolina, as far as anything, in such a connexion, could be creditable. It was committed at midnight, and the slave *secretly* buried, that it might be concealed. And it is on this score that Faux accuses not one obscure and cruel individual, but the whole country of America, of offering up human sacrifices. Again, Faux's sole knowledge of the crime was derived from being present at the examination of the facts of the case by the *Jury of Inquest*. In what mode would this wise traveller, or his patron in the Quarterly Review, have a murder, or any other crime pursued? The slave was killed on the 23d at night, and was *secretly* buried, and on the 29th the jury had discovered the spot, and directed the disinterment of the body in order to collect evidence of the crime. The enlightened editor of the Quarterly may tell us, when he next writes on America, whether he would have had the reputed murderer hung without any process, or tried for murder with-

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out ascertaining that there had been a murder, or, finally, what should have been done? Faux waited not, even to ascertain the verdict of this jury, but on his arrival at Charleston published the silly letter above quoted.

Unfortunately his quality of stranger, his London clothes, which he mentions, and the southern hospitality, led to the mistake that he was a gentleman, and entitled to the notice of a man of principle. Naturally supposing that there must be something extraordinary in the circumstances of the case, to lead a foreigner to such an extraordinary manifesto, the Governor directed the Attorney General to institute an Inquiry. On this inquiry it appeared, as we have already stated, that Faux knew nothing of what he had published with his name, except as he had transiently heard it from those collected about the jury of inquest, whose verdict he did not stay to hear. Thus far we have merely laid open a scene of impertinence. What now follows will probably be thought by our readers, something worse than impertinent; though the burden of the offence falls not on the shoulders of Faux, but of his Reviewer, who has been so indiscreet as to assert, in his own person, what Faux does not say; what the Reviewer could not know to be true; and what is actually false. Faux, at the close of his tale, represents the Attorney General as saying, 'that he will write to the district attorney and get Kelly indicted,' and adds, 'there is no evidence that the learned gentleman redeemed his promise here given.' And pray what evidence would Mr Faux require that the Attorney General did thus write? However, this is of no consequence. Our readers shall now hear the Quarterly Reviewer, who does not quote Faux, but condenses his narrative, in his own person. 'The visit ended,' says the Reviewer, 'by the Attorney General promising to get Kelly (the perpetrator of the murder) indicted; *but the learned gentleman has not yet redeemed his promise.*' The reader will observe, that whether the Attorney General had or had not redeemed his promise, was wholly unknown to Faux, who had therefore the prudence to say, '*there is no evidence* of that fact;' that is, Mr Faux, on his dunghill at Somersham, hath received no proof that the Attorney General of South Carolina wrote to the solicitor to procure Kelly to be indicted. This no doubt was true, and was also prudent. But it did not satisfy the Reviewer, who asserts what

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is neither prudent nor true, that 'the learned gentleman has not yet redeemed his promise.' For it so happens, that the Attorney General did forthwith write to the solicitor, (for the crime was not committed in his own district,) to urge the indictment of Kelly, and that he and those concerned with him in the murder were indicted, convicted, and punished. And now what will the Quarterly Reviewer say? He avers, (not quoting Faux, who does not so state,) that the Attorney General did not use his influence to procure the indicting of the murderer. We say he did; that he communicated Faux's testimony, though it amounted to nothing, to the solicitor of that district; and he to the attorney of the circuit; and that the offenders were all brought to justice.

Our readers will call to mind one parallel case. The journeyman stocking weaver, Fearon, in his travels, gave an account of a vessel employed in transporting German redemptioners to this country, which he averred to be an American ship, and her captain an American, with circumstances of great particularity. The Quarterly Review, for May, 1819, in an article probably from the same pen to which the world is indebted for that on Faux, quotes this passage from Fearon, and adds *from his own authority*, 'the infamous traffic is confined exclusively to American vessels.' And yet, not only was the ship in question a vessel from Sunderland in England, navigated on English account, and her crew, and her captain, William Garterell by name, British; but the majority of all the vessels employed in this business in 1816 and 1817 was foreign, and of these foreign ships, (ten in number,) five were British, in British employment. But the Quarterly Reviewer could assert, on his own authority, and for the purpose of vilifying America, that 'this infamous traffic is exclusively in American hands.'

But to revert to the topic of American slavery, on which the Quarterly Reviewer is not yet silenced. He tells us,

'Though many of the planters treat their slaves well, and allow them as much indulgence as is consistent with their situation, yet negroes being, *in the eye of the American law*, a degraded class, and denied the enjoyment of equal rights, their well being is entirely dependent on the personal character of their owner; and however humane their treatment may be, we cannot agree with Farmer Faux in his conclusion, which, after the terrible stories of more than

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brutal cruelty, which he has laid before us, we should rather have expected from Mr Tell Harris, or Miss Wright, that their condition in *any*, much less in *many* respects, "is better than that of the paupers in his native land."' p. 343.

The Reviewer, after adding a few more lines in this strain, extracts Faux's monstrous fabrication about training large dogs to hunt negroes. In other parts of his Review, he quotes various other tales and calumnies relative to the existence of slavery in America. We accordingly repeat what we stated in a former number, and what we shall reiterate, whenever we have occasion to notice the calumnies of the English ultra press on this subject. First, that slavery in America is a British institution, established by British laws, and for the benefit of British traders. Secondly, that the American colonists early made attempts to prevent the farther introduction of slaves, which attempts were resisted and defeated by the English ministers at the instigation of English traders. So well known was this, that Mr Burke, in his speech on the conciliation of America, recognises 'her refusal to deal any more in the inhuman traffic of the negro slaves, as one of the causes of her quarrel with England.' Thirdly, a generation before the slave trade was abolished by the British parliament, it was abolished in several of the American states, and eighteen years before its abolition by Great Britain, the provision was made for its abolition throughout America in the year 1808. In addition to these facts, we may add, that America has set to England the example of the only effectual measure of destroying this traffic, that of declaring it to be piracy; and, finally, that the amelioration of the condition of the British slaves in the West Indies is owing to the example of North American masters.

On this point we are luckily able to quote an unsuspicious authority, *that of the Quarterly Review.* In the very same number, which contains this unmanly attack on America, is an article, very ably written, of which the real object is to vindicate the policy of holding slaves, and to disparage that of the abolitionists and emancipators. In this article we read as follows; 'It was about half a century ago, (say the Committee of Assembly in Jamaica, in their report of 1815,) that the treatment of our negroes began to receive a visible ame-

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lioration; the import of raw recruits was checked by the war, and on the separation of the American colonies from the mother country, a number of suffering loyalists removed to our sugar island, bringing with them negroes of a more intelligent character than those in the West Indies. A milder system of treatment was thus gradually introduced,' &c. This is the Quarterly Review; now let us hear the Westminster Review, a journal, it is true, of very opposite character, but still a British journal; nay, which relates as true, and commends as creditable, Faux's ridiculous and impertinent behavior in the case of the Camden slave murder.

'The portions of the British dominions in which slavery is still established, being severed by the ocean from those in which the population is free, the opinions entertained in Great Britain on the subject of slave treatment are almost a matter of indifference to the Jamaica planter; and the obvious result is, that horrible as is the condition of the slave in Carolina, in the West Indies he is subjected to an extremity of misery and degradation a thousandfold more frightful. This is put out of all doubt by the testimony of Mr Cooper, who was sent out three years ago by Mr Hibbert, an eminent planter, with a view to inquire into, and if possible ameliorate, the condition of the slaves on the estate of that gentleman. From this fact alone, it is evident, that Mr Hibbert is a man generous and humane in no ordinary degree; it may therefore be presumed that the treatment experienced by slaves on his estate affords at least a fair specimen of their condition throughout the West Indies. Yet, what is the statement?

'During the sugar harvest, which lasts for about five months, the manufacture of sugar is continued without intermission either day or night, except for about eighteen hours from midnight on Saturday to Sunday evening. The slaves are for the most part divided into two gangs, which, besides being fully occupied in the labors of the plantation during the day, are engaged the whole of the night on alternate nights. In the exaction of this labor no difference is made between men and women.

'The men employed in carrying the canes from the field to the mill have no regular time of rest, except half an hour for breakfast, and two hours' interval in the middle of the day; but it seldom happens that they get a whole night's rest at one time. The whole of Sunday they are obliged to employ in the cultivation of their provision ground, in bringing thence the food requisite for their sustenance during the week, and in keeping market. The punishment of the whip is inflicted on all occasions at the discretion of the driver and overseer. The law which limits the number of

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strokes to thirty nine is practically disregarded, and the wretched victims are frightfully mangled and excoriated by every execution. When the lacerations produced by one flogging are sufficiently healed, a second is frequently inflicted; and while the sores are unhealed, maggots often breed in the lacerated flesh. Their numbers, as might be expected, annually decrease; and suicide, by dirt eating and otherwise, is not unfrequently resorted to as the only escape from misery; or, (as the perverted intellects of West Indian writers will have it,) out of an ill-disposition to their masters!' pp. 113, 114.

Well does this candid writer proceed to remark,

'After this, and a thousand corroborating statements, how childishly absurd is the tone of triumphant reproach with which British writers, Whig as well as Tory, assail the American republic for permitting the existence of slavery, as if no such evil existed in the British dominions, or as if the influence of property or the prejudices of education were to be overcome in an instant by the breath of the republican legislator!' p. 114.

To give our readers the satisfaction of more certainly knowing, that the Quarterly Reviewer enjoys the pleasure of being the only man of respectability in England, who affects to regard the existence of slavery as a reproach on America, we also subjoin the following manly expressions of Mr Campbell, in an editorial preface to a volume of the New Monthly Magazine.

'The worst thing urged against America is her negro slavery, a theme no doubt for the general philanthropist, but not for the Englishman, as a ground of unqualified national vanity. Slaves cannot breathe in England. Yes, but they can breathe in the English West Indies, and breathe heavier groans, it is said, than in America. And we profit by this slavery, and we pay taxes to maintain it. The negro, however, is free the moment he reaches our shores. And could he reach them at his pleasure, we might then boast that we took the chains from his limbs and bound them round his heart. But he cannot come over to us. An English soldier would help to kill him, if he asserted his liberty, and the main power that coerces him is English. Now the plea, which our own colonists allege for possessing slaves, is necessity, and we either admit or reject this plea. If we absolve the West Indian, we cannot condemn the American. If we denounce them both as tyrants, it is clear that, of the two, we are most nearly and practically concerned with our fellow subjects of the West Indies. If we can justify or palliate their slavery, let us make allowance for that

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of America. And if we cannot justify it, then, before we preach the emancipation of slaves to another empire, we should first make efforts to accomplish that emancipation in our own.'

We have already done the people of England the credit to believe, that the Quarterly Reviewer is by this time the only one among them, who affects to cast a reproach upon America for the existence of slavery. We have quoted the language of Mr Campbell as generous and fair. But we are tempted to retract the words, and ask if it be either? It is not true, that the negro is free, the moment he reaches their shores. He is free only on a small *part* of their shores. It is not the '*colonists*' only of England, who hold slaves. They are held and owned by Englishmen; by the champions of liberty, by the pillars of the throne. Whether this be so or not, the Quarterly Reviewer may ask Sir George Rose, who speaks in Parliament of *one* of his West India estates containing at least two hundred and forty slaves of a punishable age; or he may ask why the enlightened nephew of Fox hath assumed the ill omened name of Vassal. It is a solemn truth, that more men are at this moment held in slavery by English power, and English laws, than by all the rest of the world together. This would be nearly true, were we to understand slavery in the literal sense of the word. When we extend it farther, and make it include not merely the condition of being bought and sold, but also the being deprived of all the rights, which make liberty worth having, and in this connexion reflect on the British empire in the East, it will appear incontestibly, that the English nation has sinned and is sinning as deeply against the cause of human freedom, as the most heinous despotism, of which the memory exists. This same number of the Quarterly Review, as if to cover with the deeper shame the libeller of America, contains, in the article on *Central India*, an incidental sentence relative to the condition in which the English government has placed that country, which awakens feelings of horror at the misery it implies, and of greater horror at the truly profane indifference and seeming unconsciousness, with which it is uttered.

'One of the greatest practical *blunders*,' says this cool person, 'which we have yet made in India, was the substitution of a plausible theory for an ancient usage, in taking the land from the *Ryots*, its rightful owners, and conferring it on the *Zemindars*, the heredi-

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tary collectors of the revenue, under the specious pretext of creating a body of country gentlemen, who would improve the property, and secure to the government a permanently fixed rent. The *fatal* effects of this well intentioned but ill advised measure, were soon apparent by the ruin of those it was meant to enrich, by the oppression and misery of the ancient occupiers, and the almost total neglect of agriculture.'

A blunder indeed! An empire, where many of the arts of civilized life have been cultivated for ages beyond the reach of history, sixty or eighty millions of men disfranchised, reduced from owners in fee simple to tenants, to their own oppression and misery, the ruin of their landlords, and the almost total neglect of agriculture; and for the purpose of 'securing to the government a permanently fixed rent;' that is, enriching a few titled favorites, and a host of military and civil adventurers from the antipodes; and all this *one* only of the greatest practical blunders! If this be only *one* of the *blunders*, what must be the corruptions, the tyranny, the crimes? We may now believe the assertion of Lord Cornwallis, that a third of the Company's possessions have been reduced to a jungle for wild beasts. India is far off, little known, little cared for, by the political inquirer; and the fate of her unresisting and timid millions is but imperfectly understood. From the information, however, that is before the world, we have no scruple in asserting, that the British administration of that quarter of the globe has been guilty, every year of its existence, of more oppression, fraud, tyranny, robbery, and murder, than can be laid to the charge of Bonaparte in his whole career. And yet we are not only surfeited with the praises of what England has done for liberty, but ourselves overwhelmed with abuse, because it is impossible to throw off the slavery, which they entailed upon us.

But to return to farmer Faux, whom we had nearly forgotten. We proposed to notice but very few of his fabrications, and shall, out of regard to ourselves as well as our readers, keep our word. We must give them, however, a specimen of this 'honest man's' observations. Page 45, he visits Patrick Duncan, Esq. on the twenty fifth of April, whom he finds living in a garden of the choicest flowers and fruits, breaking down the trees with their weight. In another place, (p. 405,) he enumerates the fruits in this garden, as

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being oranges, figs, sugar canes, and pomegranates. The twenty fifth of April was certainly early for these fruits to be breaking down the trees!

On page 37, the Farmer says, 'it is no unusual thing for people of this country, [New England,] on going to Charleston, to take *their* free negroes with them, and sell them for slaves, by way of turning a penny, or, as they say, of making a good *spec.* of it.' The Farmer forgot, while contriving this device, that there was a small contradiction in terms between the words; and he might find it difficult to explain what he means by '*their* free negroes.' On the same page, he says,

'Two white gentlemen, I was told, determined on a plan to benefit themselves and cheat the planter or slave buyer. One blackened his face and body and became a negro; the other was his owner and salesman, and sold his friend to the planter for eight hundred dollars, but in less than three days, he returned a white free man again, to divide the spoil, nor was the imposition ever discovered to prosecution.'

The fabricator of this stuff is the person, of whom the Quarterly Reviewer has the face to say, 'that Mr Faux is an honest man, and tells the truth to the best of his knowledge and belief, we cannot for a moment permit ourselves to doubt; indeed, there is scarcely a word or a fact in his book, for which he does not produce his authority.' There is no need of mincing a matter like this, and we pronounce this qualification of Faux to be false. So far from producing authority for almost every word and fact, the greater part of his book is the merest hearsay, like that we have just quoted. 'I was told,' is his main authority. As to the tale we are now considering, that a planter should pay eight hundred dollars for a blackened white person is so preposterous as to disarm our anger, and almost satisfy us that farmer Faux is more fool than knave; and fell into the hands of some desperate wag, who discovered that he was writing a book about America, and was resolved it should be well seasoned.

'May 1st,' says "the honest man," 'a wagoner, on the day of the President's entry to this city, was commanded by the military to move out of the road to give place to the coming show. "Pray," said he, "by what authority do you stop me? It is more than the President dare do. Show me your authority. If you had civilly asked me, I would have driven into the ditch to *obleege* you."'

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It does not appear, however, that the offended wagoner fell to throwing stones into the President's carriage, or hooting at him, the compliment so frequently bestowed on some of their present gracious majesties of the old world, when they appear before the eyes of their beloved subjects. It is amusing to see Mr Faux italicising *obleege*, as vulgar; a pronunciation almost universal in England the last century; and he himself from a country, where no known dialect of English is spoken; where they talk of '*orse*,' and '*ouse*,' of '*annythink*,' and '*somethink*,' of 'a *lung* while,' of 'the *byes* (boys) and *gals*,' and a thousand other things, which, for the mere English reader, require a version.

On the page last quoted, occurs the following sentence, which farmer Faux would *obleege* us by translating out of the Somersetshire into the English. 'This *morning* presented a poor fellow lying *all night* until nine A. M. in the street *in a hot broiling sun*, 110° by the thermometer.' From this specification of a person, presented by the morning as lying all night in a hot broiling sun, we should apprehend him to be one of those unfortunate persons, immortalised in the well known and pathetic exclamation,

> To night's the day, I speak it to my sorrow,
> That we were all to have been hung tomorrow.

But the Farmer proceeds;

'He was found nearly murdered, having his legs both broken, and *otherwise* terribly *bruised* about his head and breast, and robbed of all he had, fifteen dollars. To the disgrace of the nightly watch and city sentinels, and to the open day humanity of the citizens, here was he suffered to lie saturated with pestilential dew, and in the day left to roast and be devoured by flies, until an old Prussian Colonel offered a dollar to have him removed, as a nuisance too disgusting to delicate nerves and sensibilities. Mr Brown, a landlord in Church street, then called out to two black men, "here, June and July come and assist, and tell August to help you."'

Thus spake Mr Brown and straightway they moved.—Incipiunt magni procedere *menses*.

The Farmer facetiously adds, that but for the black men, June, July, and August, the poor forsaken sufferer would *literally* have taken *three months* to effect his removal. This too is quoted by the Quarterly Reviewer, and that fraudulently; for the ridiculous names of the servants, enough of

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themselves to throw ridicule on the whole tale, are omitted, and the whole is put into English, which alone is a cruel satire on the Farmer. What inferences against the American character might be authorized by this occurrence, were it true, may be judged of by a parallel case, which we give as we find it, in the number of the Westminster Review already quoted. Faux's adventure happened in 1819.

'Three years have not elapsed,' says the writer in the Westminster Review, 'since an aged pauper in the middle of this metropolis of London was thrust from parish to parish, from officer to officer, each contesting the liability to administer relief, till the last, on whose hands he was thrown, left him famishing with cold and hunger, in the open streets. The wretched sufferer, unable to crawl farther, laid himself down at night in a public thoroughfare near Drury Lane, where thousands passed by him regardless of his dying groans. The next morning he was found a stiffened corpse, and a coroner's jury brought in a verdict of "died by starvation."' p. 253.

We have some doubt whether the Quarterly Reviewer will hereafter revive the story of Mr Faux's sufferer in the streets of Charleston.

On occasion of his visit to Columbia, S. C. Faux treats us with the following sketch, which is faithfully transferred to the pages of the Quarterly. 'There are one hundred and twenty five students in the university here, who are very disorderly, frequently disturbing congregations on the Sunday, because the head, Dr Maxwell, is too idle to preach, and thereby keep them together.' In the next sentence, the Reviewer says, 'The once notorious Joseph Lancaster expected to make a fortune in this free and independent republic, where no questions would be asked him on the score of religion.' Again, 'Mr Faux, being brought up in serious habits, seldom failed to attend, wherever he was, at some place or other of religious worship; he appears, however, to entertain a very humble opinion both of the preaching and practice of *all* the numerous sects, in this land of "liberal institutions." Some of them he found cold, others fanatic, and the more dignified time serving.' Finally, it is said, by this candid Reviewer, toward the end of his article,

'We are very much inclined to ascribe the vicious and heartless conduct of the Americans, with which every page of Mr Faux's

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book teems, to the total disregard of religion on the part of the government. This fatal mistake in framing their constitution has been productive of the most injurious consequences to the morals of the people; for to expect that men will cultivate virtue and morality and neglect religion is to know very little of human nature. The want of an established national religion has made the bulk of the people either infidels or fanatics. "Some," says one of their writers, "plead the sufficiency of natural religion, and reject revelation as unnecessary and fabulous; and many, we have reason to believe, have yet their religion to choose." In the back settlements, here and there, a frantic sectarian holds forth in a hovel, or under a tree; and in the old states no kindly associations are connected with the gloomy and heartless performance of religious worship. The village church with its spiry steeple, its bells, its clock, the well fenced churchyard, with its ancient yew tree and its numerous monumental records of the dead, are here utterly unknown. Even the tomb of Washington is so totally neglected, that "it might be mistaken," Mr Faux says, "for a dog kennel, or a mound much resembling a potato grave in England, the door rotting away, such as would disgrace an English pig stye." An American apologist for this neglect admitted that among his countrymen, the corpse was no sooner laid in the earth, than it appeared to be forgotten; and "that the tear of sorrow, and the hand of affection neither bedews nor decorates the sward under which the friend, the parent, the relative reposes." "It is in vain to look into the burial grounds of this country, for the pensive cypress or the melancholy willow, the virgin weeping over the urn of her departed lover, or the mother hanging over the grave of her darling child. No flower blooms bedewed with the tear of affection. All is waste, and dreary, and dead, as the sunken grave over which you pass; and a few stones, on which are engraved the name and age of the deceased, are all that remains to manifest the affection of the living to those who have passed away and are no more." ' p. 369.

We have quoted these few passages for the sake of showing more fully to our readers, what kind of ribaldry may find admittance into the most extensively circulated literary journal in the world, and to what ruthless hands is committed the important duty of influencing the public feeling in England toward this country. We proceed to a few remarks on the separate points in these quotations. First, we would speak of the indecency, with which the Reviewer quotes Faux's brutal insolence toward persons, whom he calls by name. Was the Reviewer so well convinced of the correctness of

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Faux's statement relative to the learned and respectable Dr Maxcy, (to whom he refers under the name of Maxwell,) that he felt it safe to copy a libel against him, to accuse him of neglecting, through idleness, to preach on the Sabbath, and in consequence permitting the students, over whom he presided, to roam the streets, and disturb the peace of the day? Faux arrived in Columbia on Thursday and left it on Friday; his information, therefore, as to what Dr Maxcy, or the students did, or neglected to do, was but hearsay, and he does not intimate the nature of his authority. The Quarterly Reviewer knows that his journal is reprinted in America, and must therefore have supposed, that this grave charge against a man in a responsible station would meet the eyes of the individual concerned, of his friends, and of the public. Was it, under these circumstances, either prudent or fair to quote this abuse of a man, who was, perhaps, entitled to nothing but respect? As far as it was calculated to wound personal feelings, this libel has failed of its aim. We have no certain knowledge of the private or official character of the late Dr Maxcy; but his high station, his well known reputation as a pulpit orator, and the tributes of respect to his memory abundantly satisfy us, that the Quarterly Reviewer is, in this case, guilty of wanton defamation.

We proceed next to the account, which the Reviewer gives of the state of religion in America. Here we are free to say, that for pharisaical censoriousness, and for unauthorised judgment of other men's consciences, we have scarce ever seen anything equal to his statements. He says, that the government totally disregards religion, that the want of an established church is a fatal error in the constitution; that this want of a national religion is the reason of the vicious and heartless conduct of the Americans; and that it 'has made the bulk of the people infidels and fanatics.' But is the Reviewer so ignorant of our institutions, as to suppose they are all derived from the federal constitution? That instrument has little more to do with the social, moral, and religious institutions of America, than the treaty of Amiens had with those institutions in France and England. Long before and long after the constitution was framed, some of the states in this Union had precisely that establishment of religion, which archdeacon Paley, (a writer whom this Reviewer has

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occasion to defend in the very article we are considering,) quotes as a more perfect arrangement than that of England. Nay, it would seem that the Reviewer had, in his quality of editor in this number, been at war with himself as a writer, for in a subsequent article on *Ecclesiastical Revenues*, the account, which Dr Franklin gave of the laws for the support of religion in some of the American states, is quoted 'to confirm the opinions, which we entertain on this point,' viz. that the tithes are merely a servitude upon a part of the real estate of the country.

But if the want of a national religion be a fatal error in America, what is it in Great Britain, that the national religion in England itself is protested against by half of the population, that in Scotland a different, and, as English churchmen think, a schismatical and heretical communion is the established religion, so that we have the spectacle most extraordinary, and to the lovers of national religions a little scandalous, of different, mutually inconsistent orders of divine things pronounced by the same national law to be authorised by reason and Scripture, on the two sides of the Tweed; while in Ireland again, though the English religion is established by law, we have the spectacle still more perplexing to our poor transatlantic irreligious eyes of six sevenths of the people not merely not members, but bitter foes of the national church. Wishing to be set right in a point of great concernment, we do pray the Quarterly Reviewer to tell us, seeing the consequences to a nation of not having a national religion are fatal, what is the condition of an empire consisting of three realms, but governed by the same sovereign and the same parliament, and having a national religion rejected by half the population in one of the kingdoms, by six sevenths in another, while in a third, a dissenting sect is by law the established church?

But our 'government totally disregards religion;'—and what kind of regard should the government, as distinct from the constitution and laws, pay to religion? Does the Quarterly Reviewer think it an excellent thing for a queen to have a minister of religion 'whistle the word of God through the keyhole of her dressing room, while she changes her linen;' or is he edified with the scandalous spectacle of the prayers of the House of Commons. The stranger, who is present at the opening of the daily sessions of the Congress of America,

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that irreligious and godless land, will hear a solemn prayer pronounced to the majority of the members reverently standing in their seats. A half crown will not bribe the door keeper of the House of Commons to admit a stranger, while prayers are hurried over by the chaplain; because it is not thought well to have it publicly known, that the speaker and clerk are the only auditors. 'Established religion,' forsooth, with one bishop, boasting, like Dr Watson, that he never visited his see, because it was so poor; or another, living at Naples for years to retrench, because £20,000 a year would not keep him out of debt at home; or like another Honorable and Right Reverend Father in God, a nobleman, a prelate, driven from his church, for crimes which we cannot allude to. We have a right to make this retort. We are among the last persons, who would trespass against any courtesy, national or individual. But this Reviewer charges the whole American nation with irreligion, and calls individuals by name, repeating the odious libels, which an itinerant miscreant has uttered against them. Let him beware in future. He dwells in a glass house. The American government may be exceeding irreligious, and in consequence exceeding immoral, but the infamous vices of its members, we thank Heaven, have not yet become the scandal of the civilised world; and the American people are not obliged, on their allegiance, to bestow every imposing name of Grace and Majesty, and bow the knee to vermin, who, if they were not the pity, would be the horror of all good and pure minds.

But 'some' it seems, in the words of an American writer, quoted by this reviewer, 'plead the sufficiency of natural religion, and reject revelation as unnecessary and fabulous, and many, we have reason to believe, have yet their religion to choose.' Say you so? And what did Shaftesbury and Lord Herbert plead, and Bolingbroke, and Toland, and Collins, and Tindal, and Woolston, and Mandeville, and Chubb, and Hume, and Gibbon; and what do Godwin, and Sir William Drummond, and Lord Byron, and, if they are not sorely belied, many of the Edinburgh Reviewers, and Edinburgh Philosophers, plead at the present day? The writings of a few perverted geniuses in France, in the fever of the revolution, have given to the leading men of that country, with those who are willing to take up with every hasty impression, the reputation of hav-

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ing been the apostles of infidelity to the world. It is an entirely false impression, for modern infidelity was taught in England. There have been more distinguished writers in that country against Christianity, than in all others together. We do not speak it rashly, nor without having ourselves verified the remark, that there is no cavil of importance, in the French infidel writers of the last century, which cannot be found in earlier English writers. Moreover, it is equally true that the infidel writings in England, for the very reason that they are less scandalous, are far more dangerous, many of them being, from their nature, such as cannot be excluded from any respectable library, and others composed with a gravity, which secures them access to readers, who would turn away with disgust from the licentiousness of Voltaire. Think but a moment of such books as Bolingbroke's Letters on History, Hume's Essays, and Gibbon's Rome, or of the latter of them alone, a work, which must stand in every English library as long as the language shall last, which must be read by every man of liberal education, and yet which grew out of the idea of accounting for the origin and progress of Christianity by mere human means, and contains the most dangerous attack upon it, that was ever made.

It is the English infidel writers, moreover, who laid the foundation not only for the school of their successors in France, but for the modern German divinity, which in any common acceptation of terms is another form of infidelity. The first lines of that scheme, which was imperfectly shadowed out by Semler, and has been filled up by Eichhorn and his followers, and which, with much variety in details, insists on denying anything supernatural to belong to christianity, may be very clearly traced in the works of Toland and Collins. Will it be said, that if England has brought forth powerful writers 'to plead the sufficiency of natural religion,' it has brought forth powerful refuters of them? It is not so. Every theologian knows, that a very large majority of the professed replies in England to the infidels are miserable; the productions of feeble men, striving to gain preferment by defending a popular cause. Why does not the church of England, 'the national church,' with all her princely endowments, her prelacies, her stalls, her colleges, (some of which alone possess a revenue twice as great as that of the state of Mas-

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sachusetts,) produce some champions of the religion equal to those who have assailed it? Cannot the honors, powers, dignities, and millions of patronage, lavished on this church, raise up a Christian scholar to write the history of Rome or the history of England? Can they produce nothing but Warburton's monstrous paradox, which no man ever believed, and Watson's superficial though judicious pamphlet against Paine, and Paley's compilation from the Unitarian, the Socinian Lardner? In judicious sermons, containing powerful illustrations of single points of the Christian evidences, the modern English church has something to boast, and in the old controversy with the Papists, her earlier divines evinced a world of learning; but she has not a work in any degree entitled to the name of a classical treatise of Christian evidences. Butler's Analogy, indeed, is a work, which, for the grand conception on which it is built, and the power of argument with which it is armed, is alone a monument of modern theology. It is not, however, a work on Christian evidences of which we are now speaking.

Again, 'In the old states of America no kindly associations are connected with the gloomy and heartless performance of religious worship.' What think ye of this, members of the American Episcopal Church, whose numbers are not much inferior to those of the same church in England; whose bishops derive their consecration in unbroken succession from the national church as there established? 'The village church with its spiry steeple, its bells, its clock, the well fenced churchyard with its ancient yew tree, and its numerous monumental records of the dead, are here *utterly unknown*.' Read this, traveller in New England, among whose thousand villages there is scarcely one without its steeple and spire; (which, by the way, is not frequent in the English country churches, which generally have low towers;) there is not one, in which there is not a graveyard decently enclosed. But we have no 'yew trees' in our graveyards, no 'pensive cypresses.' Now that God of nature, who appointed that the dust of man should return to the dust, from which he was taken, has been pleased to withhold the yew tree from our soil, and if this Reviewer really thinks, what he says, that the want of it is a piece of irreligion, he must cast the blame elsewhere. As to the 'pensive cypress,' for which, according to Faux and his

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Reviewer, it is in vain to look in the graveyards of this country, we have strong doubts whether it be not equally in vain to seek it in England. We have, it is true, two trees called cypresses; and this Reviewer, who will find nothing in the right place, vilifies us for our cypress swamps. But if by 'pensive cypress' the gentlemen mean, as we presume they do, the 'cupressus tristis' of the ancients, which was placed before the houses and planted by the sepulchres of the dead, and is still in many parts of the world, then we plead again that the tree will not grow in the open air, in the greater part of North America, and we much mistake if it will in England. 'An American apologist admitted, that the corpse was no sooner laid in the earth than it appeared to be forgotten; the tear of sorrow and the hand of affection neither bedews nor decorates the sward under which the friend, the parent, or the relative reposes; it is vain to look into the burial grounds of this country for the pensive cypress or the melancholy willow, the virgin weeping over the urn of her departed lover, or the mother hanging over the grave of her departed child.' What sorry pedantry is this; let us fancy to ourselves, as carried into execution, what this wise man desiderates, and would leave us to infer is practised in his own country;—the young women of a sizeable town, who have had the misfortune to lose a lover, out betimes in the churchyard, and a half, or a third of the matrons upon the same errand, weeping over urns or hanging over graves. We can tell this Reviewer, that he libels not us, but his own country, in his intimation, that in this way the English think proper to grieve. Of real life or of the human heart, he could have known nothing, or instead of transcribing this trash, he would have seen in it nothing but poor ribaldry. These images are the growth of a pedant's garret, who thinks that the descriptions of the poets are a mirror of life No man, that ever had or lost a child or a wife, would talk of pensive cypresses, and melancholy willows, and hanging over urns. It is cold monkish nonsense.

And then, it seems, 'the numerous monumental records of the dead are wholly unknown.' For this assertion, vengeance, if our prophetic spirit deceive us not, will sooner or later overtake the critic who fabricated this slander. Offended Nemesis will cause him to fall in with 'the first Pentade.' Fall in, did we say? aye, subscribe for it—read it,—and if

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after this he declares that epitaphs are unknown in America, we know not what will cure him.

The tomb of Washington is 'a dog kennel,' a 'potato grave,' a 'pig stye.' The tomb of Washington is, in our judgment, worthy of him who is laid in it; a simple excavation in God's earth, with bricks enough to form the cavity, and nothing but a green sod and a few native cedar trees above it. It stands a little in front of the plain wooden house where the hero lived, on the bold bank of one of the noblest rivers in the world. What would a rubbish of marble or granite add to a spot like this. Congress once passed a resolution to remove the revered remains to the capital, and deposit them in a national monument. Happy, that no such design was carried into execution. The British soldiers would have wasted it with fire, as they did the library of Congress; and the bones of the 'Rebel,' as certain of their poets have called him, would have been trampled under foot by the gallant Cockburn's marines. Or if they had escaped that fate, if they had been allowed to rest undisturbed, if a monumental church were erected over them, and a long line of kindred worthies laid by their side, unless the sacred spot were treated with a reverence unobserved toward Westminster Abbey, it would impart no pleasure to a patriotic mind. If Westminster Abbey be now what it was five years ago, there are few spots in London filthier than the outside of poet's corner; a noisome, exposed thoroughfare. Within,—we trust we are not wanting in tenderness to the spot where are deposited the ashes of some of the great men of the race from which we are sprung, the poets and orators who have immortalised the language we speak,—but we can truly say, that the rabble of lords and ladies of family thrust in among them, the vile taste of most of the monumental architecture, sculpture, and poetry, add but too much to the disgust, which the dreary entrance has excited.

We must omit the notice we were prepared to take of some more of Faux's tales and his Reviewer's comments. One only we cannot wholly pass over. These worthy colleagues labor hard to establish the lawlessness of America, and one retails and the other swallows various bugbear stories about 'rowdy juries,' 'regulators,' 'Lynch's law,' and 'violent resistance of civil officers.' Unlucky wights. Know ye the land of the

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smuggler; the wrecker; the poacher; of the white boy, and the peep of day boy; of the Luddite, and of the frame breaker. We think we can give our readers a sketch from the state of society in England, which will compare tolerably well with that of the westernmost county in the valley of the Mississippi. We quote it from the Annual Register of 1818, which we have opened merely as the volume nearest at hand.

'On Friday night, the 6th of Nov. 1818, a most desperate gang of poachers, about twenty in number, known by the name of the Bedfordshire Poachers, or Robin Hood's gang, headed by a farmer named Field, of New Inn, near Silsoe, who called himself Robin Hood, attacked the woods and estate of Joseph Latour, Esq. of Hixton near Hitchin. The gamekeeper, Dalby, and his assistant Godfrey, on finding Field and his companions advancing near them, concealed themselves in a hedge. The gang, however, crossing the hedge near the spot, discovered them; when without any attack or provocation whatever, on the part of the keepers, they formed a line around them, when four or five of the party most cruelly beat them, leaving them for dead. Field held his dog by the ear, while it licked the blood from the head of Godfrey. Much credit is due to Mr Latour, for his spirited exertions in sending immediately to Bow street for assistance, when an active officer of the name of Holyland was sent down, who soon ascertained that the gang consisted of at least *forty men* with Field at their head, and'——

And *what*, think you, gentle reader? Perhaps that the county was up in arms to detect them? No. Perhaps that like our *rowdies*, regulators, &c. they are confined to remote, thinly settled districts? No. Perhaps that it was a combination of vagabonds and paupers against the rich? Oh, no. The Annual Register completes the sentence, which we have broken off, by saying, that this gang of forty fellows, 'was found to be encouraged by a number of GENTLEMEN and *farmers*.' But let us see a little more of these gentry; for England, ye must wot, being an exceedingly well governed, well administered kingdom, and having the advantage of a national religion, of yew trees, of pensive cypresses, and monumental records, must needs afford valuable lessons to this land of godless rowdies. Where then did the officers of justice, sent to apprehend Robin Hood's gang of forty, encouraged by Gentlemen and farmers, find him? In the heart of one of the most populous counties in England, of course; that was the field of their exploits; but instead of lurking in the forests

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under the cover of night, they did the thing genteely. 'Holyland proceeded to apprehend Field, as the ringleader, in doing which he was exposed to great danger, as he found him *at a public house*, surrounded by twenty of his colleagues, who had pledged themselves to die to a man, rather than suffer Field to be taken.' He was finally taken sword in hand. The Annual Register concludes, 'this gang has been for some time a terror to the whole neighborhood, and Field has frequently given notice to the gentleman, whose park he was going to attack. Some idea may be formed of the depredations committed by Field's gang, when it is pretty correctly ascertained, that Field *has paid from £60 to £70 a week to his men, and employed a cart to convey away the plunder.*' Perhaps when the Quarterly Reviewer writes another article on America, he will not say the '*rowdies* are a description of gentlemen *quite new* to us.'

But we are weary of these travellers and their critics. This calling of hard names and saying harsh things is not a work we are used to, nor one in which we take pleasure. Every body sees how easy it would be to draw the most frightful pictures of English society, and more than retaliate all that even their imaginations can devise against us. We engage, out of authentic *English* works, to find a parallel for every tale of barbarity, vice, and misery, which can be collected from the most faithless and gossiping traveller in this country. As American citizens, we have had provocation enough, and temptation enough to do this. The unprincipled character of most of the English travellers in this country would fully authorise it. The tone of their leading journals calls for it; and it would very naturally, under these circumstances, contribute to the popularity of ours, to maintain the cause of our country. But we have chosen to do that, as far as we can, in other ways; and have left this work to those who like it better. We do not remember having, before now, directly noticed any of these travelling libellers, nor have we formally retorted upon the Quarterly Review, in that strain, which it has thought proper to adopt toward this country. Henceforward we are ready to pursue a somewhat different course, and we invite our worthy colleague beyond the ocean, to reconsider the expediency of forcing us into it. Though we will not use his weapons, and first commend and then

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quote the wretches like Faux, who from every quarter of Europe infest England, and return to vent their spleen in German and French, yet from English works of standard authority, we will read him such a lesson, as shall teach him either to be silent as to this country, or to change his tone.

For his country, the country of our fathers, we entertain the tenderest sentiments of respect and veneration. The memory of the great and good men, the countrymen of our ancestors, is dear to us in the next degree to that of those, whom we honor and love at home. In the English constitution we see some things, in the state of society and condition of the arts in England, we see much to admire and to emulate. We also see monstrous defects, enormous contrasts, institutions most pernicious, customs and practices corrupt beyond the example of imperial Rome, and an excess of private profligacy, in proportion to the excess of wealth and the vehemence of temptation. There exists in England a maturity of vice as unquestioned as the maturity in wealth and art; and there are enormities of no unfrequent occurrence in that country, as far beyond the measure of vice in America, as the Duke of Bedford's income is beyond that of our richest landed proprietors. From this indubitable state of things, it is plain, that it merits a little hesitation, on the part of our colleague of the Quarterly, whether he will pursue this contest; and provoke the exposition of the abuses in his country by presses, beyond the reach of the 'Bridge street Association.' It merits consideration whether he will do all, that can be done by a literary journal of commanding influence, to turn into bitterness the last drop of good will toward England, that exists in this country.

He sees in Faux's book itself that England has too many and too partial friends here. The number, it is true, is daily growing less. What our political feuds could not do is rapidly doing, by publications like the Quarterly Review; and it is matter of notoriety, that the feelings entertained in this country toward England are less friendly now, than in the hottest of the late war. This alienation has been mainly effected by this very journal. For the purpose originally of discouraging emigration,—a policy very unsound in itself, for why keep shut up in your empire a crowded, starving, rioting, maddening population—some writers in this Journal undertook to vilify America. Next,

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out of hatred to the radical emigrants, who flocked hither, and some of whom made favorable report of the land, they set themselves still more sternly to defame it. The habit thus formed has gained strength by indulgence till it now amounts, as is seen in this review of Faux, to perfect insanity. Its supposed writer is an aged man bowed with years and with infirmities, and very shortly must appear at a higher tribunal than that even of an indignant nation, to give an account of the use he has made of the talents put into his hands. We despise cant on all occasions; but we protest that we think more solemnly than he appears to do of literary responsibility. Wantonly to defame an individual, or stimulate neighbors to a quarrel, would be thought a crime of no ordinary baseness; what is it for one, who controls a press at the very centre of intellectual circulation—who utters his voice, and is heard as rapidly as wheels can roll or winds blow, on the Ganges, the Neva, the La Plate, and the Missouri, to defame, not individuals, but countries; and to exasperate into wrath and bitterness not an individual, but a mighty empire, an empire peopled from his own native land, and in the language of a writer in this very number of the Quarterly Review, 'which of all that history records has employed the shortest time to rise to the greatest power and freedom.'

To conclude, if our readers should feel surprised that an individual so low, as we have shown this traveller to be, should have occupied our attention so long, we beg them to consider that his Journal, in the best style of common London typography, fine type, fair paper, and a handsome engraving at the head, is brought before the world to be read, quoted, and believed, like those of the swindler Ashe, the gardener Parkinson, and the stocking weaver Fearon, and a half dozen others, whose names and trades we forget. By virtue of the scandal propagated of this country, and without one single title to common attention and credit, this writer, like his kindred, has received the sanction of one of the most respectable journals, and will, perhaps, be quoted by lords and gentlemen, and be referred to as a competent eyewitness.

If, again, it should seem incredible, that a person so low as Mr Faux, should have found admission, on any occasion, in this country, to the houses and tables of respectable individuals, we beg to suggest, that, as his doing so often depends

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on his own word, no credit whatever is to be given to it. We have personal knowledge, that he can speak as if familiarly acquainted with an individual, who never heard of his name, till it appeared on the title page of his book. But it must also be remembered, that in all foreign countries, the stranger's reception depends, at first, not a little on the quality of his coat. Mr Faux, who, among the stock on his farm, appears to have caught a little instinct, understood this, and tells us that on landing here, he dressed in the London fashion; thus imposing upon those, who could not know him, by a decent exterior. This is more or less the case in all countries, even those where the avenues to good society are most shut against strangers. Not only a universal hospitality, which prevails in civilised countries, but a willingness to believe others well bred, which prevails nowhere so much as among those, who are so themselves, brings the unknown well dressed stranger into better company abroad, than he could find at home. But it must be confessed, that the fault is in a good measure our own. A foolish admiration for what is foreign is far too common here; and the readiness to extend to strangers the greatest confidence of hospitality has, in other instances than this, exposed the good citizens of our country to shameful impositions. This is happily an evil, however, which corrects itself, and a few more travellers like Mr Faux will establish the necessary degree of inhospitableness; and teach Americans, if they must receive this rabble, to let it be at a side table.

ART. VII.—*A Course of Study preparatory to the Bar and the Senate; to which is annexed a Memoir on the Private and Domestic Lives of the Romans.* By GEORGE WATTERSTON. pp. 240. 12mo. Washington. 1823. Davis & Force.

IN this work we find many things, which accord with our own views respecting the study of the ancient classics, and the place they ought to hold in a system of education among us. It is a subject, as we must believe, of no small importance to those who are fond of letters, and interested in the

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advancement of national education. We take the present opportunity to offer a few remarks concerning it; and in the outset we ask, does classical learning deserve special encouragement, as a branch of instruction in this country? This question we answer without hesitation in the affirmative, and proceed to give our reasons and express our opinions. Supposing the merits of the question to be known and allowed, so far as the classics are considered of importance in securing an early discipline of the mind, or esteemed as models of style, we shall pass rapidly over these topics on this occasion, and endeavor to show, that there are particular reasons, why the study of them ought to be promoted among us. We are not disposed to attribute benefits to the pursuits of the learned, which are not a consequence of them; nor to magnify the advantages, which they unquestionably confer. Be it, therefore, freely conceded, that in some things they have no very direct practical utility, that they do little towards promoting commerce or manufactures, and that they contribute less towards increasing the national population, revenues, or territory.

The noble characters, which distinguished the various epochs of the history of the ancient republics, have been justly held up as models for imitation; and the constant study of their writers has been commended by the judicious as the surest means of forming a correct taste, and learning the principles of a good style. And even here, on the points, which are by many deemed the strongest for the defence of classic learning, we would not represent Greece and Rome as the only mothers of great men, as alone rich in inventive genius or active virtue. There are poets, who have never tasted of Helicon; politicians renowned for justice, who never heard of Aristides; defenders of free governments, who have known nothing of the patriotism of the Gracchi; martyrs in the cause of liberty, who have never been quickened by the example, nor encouraged by the fame of Leonidas. Though the rules and models of fine writing are to be sought in ancient literature, the works of Franklin have still been extolled for their almost faultless simplicity; and at present our most admired moral writer, who has addressed himself to the best feelings of our nature with winning eloquence and exquisite purity of taste, is not, we believe, indebted to classic learning for the

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elegance, or the chastened fervor of his style. We would not substitute ancient literature for the whole of intellectual culture, nor the greatness of the ancient republics for all that is ennobling in political history. The dispute respecting the comparative merits of the ancients and moderns is one of the most idle, that has been recorded in the history of letters. Let us be just to them both. Because Sophocles is another name for perfection in the tragic art, should not the imagination still be charmed by the more free inventions of Shakspeare, or the equally stern sublimity of Alfieri? The study of Demosthenes will but increase our admiration for Burke; and we shall never feel a deeper reverence for our own national benefactors and champions, than on rising from the pages of Herodotus.

While we thus disclaim any intention to ascribe to classic studies practical benefits, which they do not confer, or to exaggerate the good effects, which they are certainly calculated to produce, we may without fear of contradiction assert, that an acquaintance with them, and the discipline of the mind resulting from the exertions, which are necessary to gain that acquaintance, sharpen and invigorate the faculties, and thus form an excellent preparation for any active employment whatever. It will also be acknowledged, that these studies furnish an elegant and suitable occupation for men, who have retired from the busy scenes of action; that they form a pleasing *relief* in the character of the soldier and the statesman; that Germanicus, for instance, among the ancients, gains more of our admiration for having polished and improved his mind by the study of Grecian letters; or, to come to our own times and country, that the distinguished diplomatist, who fills the department of state, though learning confers no additional claim to the gratitude of the nation, deserves increased respect for his attainments as a scholar.

As none will contend, that the classics should be taught as a necessary branch in military schools, or in those principally intended for the training of youth for the mechanical or practical arts, so none will deny, that the study of them essentially belongs to that higher education, which proposes for its object the culture of the intellectual man. If the study of languages is of moment, the Greek and Latin have the first right to attention, because they are the more ancient, and therefore the

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more nearly original, because they have exercised an influence over all polished dialects of later nations, and because they are in themselves more perfect. To this we add, that they are *dead* languages, beyond the reach of change; the seal has been set upon them; their principles of construction and the force of their words are unalterably fixed; and, therefore, they best serve to illustrate the abstract principles of grammar.

It is also indisputable, that these studies form the necessary basis of education for the man of letters, that no branch of literary history can be perfectly understood without a knowledge of them, that they are indispensable to eminence in at least one profession, and are, to speak moderately, worthy of being pursued by all, who value the culture of taste, and the enjoyment of eloquence and poetry. We may also add, that they have proved themselves the faithful assistants of creative genius, that many of the most tender and most original modern poets have been directed in their intellectual efforts by classic letters. Virgil has been the master of Racine, of Petrarca, and of a spirit of still higher order, of Dante himself; a refined and enlightened nation has applauded Sophocles once more in the tragedy of Voltaire, and Milton has drawn many of his boldest images and most inspiring thoughts from the same 'living springs of beauty.' As it has of late grown too much the fashion to speak of the ancient writers, as chiefly fitted to employ the curious in philology, it is the more necessary to mention, that they have served to enrich, discipline, and embellish the minds of those, who, in modern times, have created or perfected the literature of their respective nations.

But we would not be detained too long from our main design. There are particular reasons why classic learning should be cultivated in the United States. And the first of these we find in our very situation, in regard to the ancients. Their writings are their only monuments, to which we can have immediate access. We must read their books, or rest our belief of their greatness on the testimony of others. The nations of Europe have visible witnesses. Parts of Germany, Switzerland, and France, possess monuments, and works of art, full of instruction respecting the past. Traces of the Romans are still to be observed in Great Britain, local traditions concerning them are current among the people; and

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the English capital contains at present specimens of Grecian sculpture, which more than divide admiration with the noblest statues at Rome. Besides this, on a large portion of the continent of Europe, the rights of persons are guarantied to the nations, which have no constitutions, solely by the existence of the Roman jurisprudence, of which the elements were, it is true, collected and arranged under an emperor, but were originally created in an age of liberty. And in the southern countries, the Italians, 'reposing like foreign pilgrims near the ruins' of their predecessors, are constantly admonished of their degeneracy by the still existing monuments of ancient independence and industry; the few herdsmen, to whom the plains round the Eternal City are abandoned, gather from the wrecks which surround them sufficient proof, that the land was once occupied by a nation that indulged in vast conceptions, which it possessed the energy to execute. And the modern Greek sees on all sides objects, which indicate that the former occupants of the soil were the high minded advocates of liberty. But we possess none of the works, with which the ancient cities were embellished. We cannot acquire their statues nor their works of art; we cannot learn from the remains of their labors, how persevering they were in all enterprises connected with public utility; we cannot believe in their devotion, their consummate skill, their sublime conceptions, from observing the stately symmetry of their temples. Our hills, our mountainous passes, our towns, our bays, have no associations, which lead the thoughts back to the times, when poetry breathed her earliest accents, and freedom won her first battles. Of Grecian or Roman genius there is no production, which we can directly contemplate but their literature.

And what more could we desire? What better inheritance can our country receive from the ancient republics than the writings, which contain the thoughts and sentiments of their finest minds? We say again, those writings deserve especially to be studied by us; because their tendency is favorable to free institutions. The Athenians, though they sometimes flattered kings, never eulogised the regal form of government. They cherished the love of freedom to the last, and their regrets at its loss are almost as instructive as their pride in its possession. Nor should we forget, to what class of so-

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ciety the Grecian writers belonged. They were men, who, having enriched their minds by travel and intercourse with the learned of other countries, returned, like Plato, to ripen their powers and their knowledge by reflection. Or they were men, who wrote, after retiring from political or military life, in which they had vigorously defended the rights and liberties of the state. Æschylus fought in the great battles against the Persians; Sophocles, who led the chorus in celebrating the victory of Salamis, was afterwards distinguished as a soldier and a statesman; Thucydides did not become a writer, till his country had refused the farther use of his sword; and Herodotus paused amidst his literary career, to take the lead in a successful revolution against the tyrant of his native city.

The best works of the Grecians were produced during their independence; and in the later writers the spirit of a better age than their own is reflected. In Roman literature we have sometimes cause to be disgusted with servile adulation; we could wish that Horace had not employed his genius in celebrating the victories of Augustus; and should cherish Virgil the more, if something of the rustic republicanism of the elder days were discoverable in his verse; but these are the poets, whose works are to be studied, that the principles of good taste may be observed in their practical application, and the imagination become familiar with beautiful conceptions; the understanding is stored rather from the thoughts of Cicero and of Tacitus. Moreover, the ancients prized personal independence and freedom of public debate. Everything of general interest was regularly communicated in the market places; and the comic theatre was the tribunal before which, as in modern newspapers, the characters of public men were scrutinised with unrestrained boldness. In their works of an elevated tone, in the orations of Demosthenes, for instance, the doctrine of liberty is taught on the principles, which make it of universal value, and is supported, not merely because it makes a nation more prosperous, but because it is essential to the moral dignity and intellectual freedom of individuals, and equally essential to the honor of the state. We can but desire, that such views should be encouraged by all possible means; we need not fear, though the study of Homer should teach other lessons than those of passive obedience; we should

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find pleasure in being instructed, by 'the rules of ancient liberty,' how a people may provide for its prosperity and glory.

We may add, that ancient literature has become the common property of mankind. Some foreign assistance is needed in the great concern of national education. But if we make use of none but English books, or if we do not go beyond the literature of living nations, there is danger of being affected with some foreign taint; of supporting our intellectual existence by aliment not perfectly suited to our condition. The study of the classics deserves, therefore, to be encouraged as a means of preserving national literary independence.

A much stronger argument lies in the probable influence, which they would exert on national character. The Greeks preferred beauty to utility, glory to prosperity. Vast sums, employed for works of art, formed a large, and as it seemed to them, a necessary part of the annual expenditure of their states. If the tendency of our age were to ruinous extravagance, in all matters connected with public property, if one state were contending with another in the architectural perfection of its edifices, if the first settlers of the fertile banks of our western rivers had thought of nothing but cultivating the elegant arts, if the same spirit, which raised St Peter's, or the York cathedral, were at work among our countrymen to the injury of good thrift, and in contempt of rational calculation, it would be the duty of every patriotic citizen to repress even the sublimity of enthusiasm, and to counteract the immoderate love of display, by sober and practical views of utility. But we are in no danger of being carried too far by our zeal for objects, not directly necessary to our welfare. Our fathers have given us excellent political and civil institutions established on a solid foundation; commerce has enriched our cities; internal navigation is promoted by the grandest efforts of public and private enterprise; the springs of the Mississippi have already been turned into the Hudson; and the chain of the Alleghanies is to offer, it would seem, but a temporary barrier to the union of the Ohio and the Potomac. We have done, or are doing, everything to further objects of public and private advantage. It becomes, therefore, the duty of the patriotic statesman to provide for the other sources of national glory and happiness; to cherish a disinterested passion for the elegant and ornamental arts,

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till our country shall surpass every other, not only in the value of its political privileges, and the prosperity of its citizens, but also in the perfection of its monuments. At this epoch, therefore, while the nation is so rapidly forming its character, and while it is still possible to introduce new elements, the study of classic letters deserves to be encouraged, because it tends to awaken and cherish a love for the arts, by which society is adorned and refined.

In a free country, moreover, there should be no limits to inquiry. It is desirable, that the condition of man in every age should be known; that human nature should be studied under all her aspects; that every form of society and every revolution in governments should be understood.

And the last reason, why we would defend the study of classic literature is, that it is the best. The Greek poets, orators, and philosophers, still remain unrivalled. We look backwards along the wastes of time, and behold them eminent above all others, shining through the gloom of ages, as stars of changeless and unequalled brilliancy. The languages, which were in use before the time of Homer, so far as modern culture is concerned, have wholly perished; they may have been harmonious and expressive; but the poet did not bestow on them immortality by breathing into them thought and passion. The Greek was 'the mother tongue of the Muses,' the first language, in which 'the life blood of master spirits was embalmed and treasured up to a life beyond life.' The ancient literature of Greece has been the fosterer of genius in other countries and ages. The more elevated minds among the Romans comprehended its excellence, and delighted to transfuse its beauties into their native dialect. And from that time to the present, its influence has been directly or immediately exerted on the literature of every European nation, and always with benefit. And what a source of delight, no less than instruction, may be found in its writers. 'Keep your books,' says Cicero to Atticus, alluding to the Greek library of the latter; 'I do not despair, but I can one day make them mine; which if I obtain, I shall surpass Crassus in opulence.' Cicero wrote in the ripeness of manhood, and the Attic tongue was as familiar to him as his own. 'I have seated Homer,' says Petrarca, when he was no proficient in Greek, 'by the side of Plato, the prince of poets by

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the prince of philosophers; and I glory in the sight of my illustrious guests.' And then he breaks out into lamentations, that his ignorance of the language made him deaf to the voice of Mæonides. We know not whether a more honorable testimony be borne to the excellence of the Grecian literature, by the hopes of Cicero, or the regrets of Petrarca.

But on this topic we will enlarge no farther, and will only add, that we are gratified to find our views supported, in another part of the Union, by a writer so judicious and well informed as Mr Watterston. Throughout the whole of his little volume, we recognise a man zealous for freedom of thought and speech, and for the diffusion of knowledge; careful to inculcate good morals, and a respect for the Scriptures. Though some parts of his work are hardly practical, and his advice is sometimes indefinite, he shows a uniform desire of promoting the true discipline of the mind and sound learning.

The first object, to which he adverts, is the study of the ancient languages and literature. We quote his remarks at large, as a specimen of his manner, and as containing correct observations on an important subject.

'The study of languages is usually and properly the first step in a liberal and enlarged system of education. The youthful mind is peculiarly fitted for the acquirement and retention of words; but not sufficiently expanded and vigorous to comprehend the nature, principles, and objects, of positive science. Memory is the first faculty that unfolds itself, and perhaps the most susceptible of improvement. Languages, therefore, as a branch of elementary knowledge, should be early attended to. They are emphatically the key to science, and the spring of life cannot be more judiciously or advantageously employed than in acquiring them. A knowledge of what are termed the dead, and some of the living languages, I conceive to be absolutely indispensable to the character of a fine scholar, and an able and distinguished civilian and statesman; and it is exceedingly to be regretted that these, especially the learned languages, are so much neglected in our country. This has arisen from a mistaken idea, that their attainment takes up too much time, and that the period usually devoted to their acquisition might be better employed in acquiring more solid and useful information. No error can be more glaring than this; every day's experience demonstrates its fallacy.

'The acquirement of the dead languages will be found to be attended with great and permanent advantages; among which, it will be sufficient barely to mention its tendency to improve the princi-

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pal faculties of the mind, and to beget a purity and refinement of taste, that no other kind of learning can bestow. The memory, for example, must be invigorated by the habitual exercise it undergoes, in the acquisition and retention of strange words and foreign expressions; the judgment is improved, from the necessity the learner is under of selecting, out of many, the most suitable word to express the idea of the original—for the original gives the idea only; the imagination is chastened and improved by the exquisite imagery, and the rich, chaste, and beautiful coloring the ancient authors display; and the taste is improved by the fine models of purity and beauty, and the refined and delicate touches of nature, everywhere diffused over the pages of the Greek and Roman classics. The most eminent and distinguished men in oratory, poetry, history, law, &c. have been well versed in those languages, and have had their minds early imbued with a love of these chaste and polished models of antiquity. Be, therefore, solicitous to master them; regard not the difficulties that may arise, at first, to impede your progress; they will soon, by a little perseverance and application, be surmounted, and, when you have reached that point of familiarity with them, which will enable you to relish their beauties, and feel and enjoy their excellencies, they will become a source of high and exquisite gratification that will never forsake you, even amidst the dull and vapid realities of life. In acquiring those languages, it will be necessary to observe the peculiarities of style, the fine thoughts, and daring felicities of expression, which distinguish the authors you are reading, and to endeavor, frequently, to commit to memory the finest and most beautiful passages, that are to be found in the poets of Greece and Rome. This will strengthen the memory, improve the taste, and furnish you with happy illustrations, and apt and appropriate allusions. It will be proper, too, to keep up this practice while reading modern poetry; you will find, as many of the most distinguished modern orators have found, that it is of much greater advantage than you may now be disposed to believe. Of the copiousness, harmony, grace, and beauty, of the Greek and Latin languages, it is unnecessary to say anything. Those who study them, with that care and attention which they deserve, will soon be enabled to judge for themselves, and, of consequence, capable of relishing their various excellencies, without the aid of criticism. But of all the languages, ancient or modern, I conceive the Greek to be the most admirable. A knowledge of that language was deemed by the Latins to be an indispensable branch of study, and should be so considered by the present and every future age. It is the foundation of most other languages, and is so blended with the sciences, as almost to form their keystone and groundwork.' pp. 23—26.

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After these general remarks Mr Watterston proceeds to the science of grammar, and then explains the degree of care with which the ancient languages should be studied, and the quantity of time requisite for their acquisition. Those persons, who are accustomed to hear the learning of Latin and Greek denounced as an almost impracticable undertaking, for men of common industry and leisure, must not be incredulous on reading the observations which follow, for experience fully supports their truth. We know not with what rapidity it is thought possible to read Homer in our schools; but Tanaquil Faber says of his pupil, that one hour was sufficient not merely for understanding, but also for committing to memory a hundred lines of the Iliad.

'While I recommend such a proficiency in those languages as I have mentioned, I do not wish to be understood as conceiving it either important or essential, that you should be profoundly and critically versed in their different idioms and various metres, or be able to write them with fluency. I wish that degree of skill to be left to professors, who make teaching the occupation of life. It is enough that you can read them with such ease, as to be capable of feeling and relishing the numerous and exquisite beauties in which the classical writers abound. To this point your efforts must be directed, and if you have even an ordinary *tact* for the attainment of language, you will be able to reach it without any very appalling difficulty; and when you have reached it, the acquirement of the modern languages will be a source rather of pleasure than of pain. Of those, the most useful are, the French, Spanish, Italian, and, if you please, the German. These, like the dead languages, may be regarded as instruments of knowledge, calculated to open to your mind a wider field, and more extended range of thought. Experience will show that the labor and difficulty of acquiring the dead, as well as the living languages, exist more in fancy than reality. In the short interval of eight months, Gibbon made himself a complete master of the Latin and French, with which he had been previously but superficially acquainted; read a great deal in both, went through the Greek grammar, and mastered the principles of De Crousas' Logic. And a French writer of considerable ability asserts, that with a knowledge of the grammar barely sufficient to distinguish the cases of nouns, and the principal tenses of the verbs, a very competent facility in reading Greek may be obtained in the short space of five or six months. "I experienced, at first, some embarrassments," says Deleuze, the writer I have alluded to; "but the difficulties insensibly vanished; the analogy of words enabled

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me to recognise the roots, I became passionately fond of Homer; the verses, which I had committed, recalled to me his expressions, and accustomed my ear to his harmony. In fine, in less than six months I was in a condition to read Sophocles." ' pp. 29—31.

Mr Watterston continues to give good advice.

'In learning the Latin and Greek, I beg you to remember never to resort to translations to enable you to acquire a knowledge of these, or, indeed, of any other languages. Its tendency is to produce habits of indolence, by enabling you to get, with too much facility, at the meaning of the words you desire to translate. This facility enfeebles the memory, and by thus depending so little upon it, the foreign word is no sooner acquired than it is forgotten, and language, in truth, becomes nothing more than "winged words." ' pp. 32, 33.

It is the purpose of Mr Watterston to present a general outline of the studies essential to the lawyer, or the statesman. We cannot follow him through the various subjects of which he treats, and we regard his work as valuable rather for the interest it may awaken in liberal pursuits, than as a practical guide to the young inquirer. Private study, however well directed, can never be equal in its results to a public education. It is the advantage of great universities, that, besides the libraries and collections which they possess, each science has its peculiar teacher, whose honor and success depend on his eminence in his own branch; and that the young mind is interested and instructed by men of various habits of thought, yet each thoroughly versed in the department which belongs to him. All narrowness of feeling is thus prevented; and all fantastic humors and vain speculations are counteracted by collisions with other inquirers after knowledge, and the different views of the instructers.

In the progress of his work Mr Watterston recommends the study not only of rhetoric and oratory, but of poetry also, as a means of refining the mind, enriching the imagination, and supplying the imagery, illustrations, and fire of diction, which render a public speaker more impressive. The mathematical sciences are sufficiently commended for their tendency to fix the attention, discipline the mind, and improve the reasoning faculties. A just knowledge of the earth and of physical geography is considered a necessary preparation for a course of history. Music is allowed to have claims to be

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regarded in a good education, for nothing serves more to relieve the toil of study, and the gloom of solitude, to soften the asperities and lessen the miseries of life. We need but remember the blind and suffering Milton at his harpsichord, to be convinced of the justice of this commendation. In treating of the study of history, it is contended, and we doubt not, with justice, that a course of ancient history should precede the modern. But we cannot agree with Mr Watterston in selecting Millot and Rollin as the best compilers of general history. The natural sciences are defended as worthy of being studied by men of business, for the new views which they give of the extent and power of Divine Providence, and the great variety of beautiful forms in which the supreme agency is exerted. To these subjects, add a knowledge of the sciences of morals, of religion, and of civil polity, and in the view of Mr Watterston the preparatory education of a young man is finished.

We have left ourselves no room to enlarge on the topics suggested by the author's remarks. In addition to its literary merits, his book is worthy of much praise for the spirit and temper in which it is written; it may be safely recommended as affording many useful hints to parents and instructers, and as calculated to elevate the principles, guide the inquiries, and quicken the ardor of the youthful mind.

ART. VIII.—*A General Description of Nova Scotia, Illustrated by a New and Correct Map.* 8vo. pp. 208. Halifax, N. S. 1823.

THE near vicinity of the province of Nova Scotia to our own frontier, and the extensive commercial intercourse between it and this country, afford us a sufficient motive for wishing to obtain an accurate acquaintance with its history, condition, and prospects. The intimate connexion of its early history with that of the Massachusetts Colony also gives it a claim on our attention. For more than a hundred years, while it was a French Colony, it was an object of great

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jealousy to its neighbors of Massachusetts, on account of their respective conflicting territorial claims, and more especially on account of the influence, which the French of Nova Scotia, as well as of Canada, were supposed to have in exciting the hostilities of the Indians, the dangerous and cruel enemy of all the early New England settlers. In consequence, Nova Scotia was involved in frequent hostilities with her more powerful neighbor, in which were repeatedly retaliated upon her the severities, which the latter had suffered from the natives.

The country, formerly known under the name of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, was of much greater extent than the present province; its limits were for a long period quite indefinite, and the question of boundary was several times the subject of national controversy. When the French possessed it, they claimed the right of territory as far west as the Penobscot river, and even to the Kennebeck. They made several settlements within the territory, which now forms the state of Maine, regarding it as a part of their province of Acadia. A celebrated controversy arose on the question of the limits of Acadia, as ceded by the treaty of Utrecht, which lasted many years. When the boundary between that province and the United States was established, by the treaty of peace in 1783, it was fixed upon the river St Croix. A point of some difficulty remained, and that was to ascertain what river was meant by the St Croix. This being determined, a further question arose, as to the islands belonging respectively to the two governments situated between the mouth of the St Croix and the ocean. These several controversies lasted for a period of near two hundred years. Soon after the peace of 1783, that part of Nova Scotia bordering on the United States was made an independent province by the name of New Brunswick. Since that time, the province of Nova Scotia has been confined to the peninsula on which the earliest permanent settlements were made, together with the neighboring island of Cape Breton.

The first discovery of Nova Scotia was made by John and Sebastian Cabot, Venetians, domesticated in England, and appointed by Henry Seventh to the command of two public vessels, destined for the discovery of a western passage to India. They sailed from Bristol in England, in May 1497,

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and while sailing in a westerly direction, not dreaming that they should meet with any obstruction to their voyage, until they approached the coast of China, they were surprised on the morning of June 24, by the sight of land. The place was named *Prima Vista*, and it is generally supposed to be the part of the island of Newfoundland now called Bonavista. Others, however, suppose that the first discovery was made on some part of the peninsula of Nova Scotia. From the point first discovered, Cabot coasted along a great distance, both north and south, and being disappointed in the object of his voyage, returned to England. By virtue of this discovery, the whole country from Labrador to Florida was claimed as a possession of the crown of England, though the English for a long time neglected to avail themselves of the advantage of the discovery.

In the year 1524, John Verrazani, a Florentine in the service of France, discovered the continent in latitude thirty four degrees north, and sailed northwardly along the coast, as far as Newfoundland, and called the whole country New France. Ten years afterwards, James Cartier was commissioned by the king of France to explore the country, with a view to find a place for a colony. He arrived first at Bonavista, and after sailing northwardly along the coast of Newfoundland, entered the Gulf of St Lawrence by the strait of Bellisle. Having visited several harbors, which he found cold and inhospitable, he passed over to the southwesterly side of the gulf, and discovered a bay, which from its contrast with those he had previously visited, he named *Baye de Chaleur*. After taking possession of the country in the name of the king of France, he proceeded northwardly and discovered the mouth of the river St Lawrence. He made another voyage the next year, 1535, ascended the river as far as Montreal, and wintered at a place to which he gave the name of St Croix, near Quebec. In 1540 and 1541, the river was again visited by Cartier and Roberval, but no permanent colony was founded until many years after. In the mean time the fishery on the banks of Newfoundland was diligently prosecuted by the English, French, Spaniards, and Portuguese, and the coasts and islands of Nova Scotia and New England were occasionally visited by those fishing vessels. It is not generally known to what extent this fishery was carried on long be-

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fore the first settlements were made on the Atlantic coast. As early as 1578 the state of it is thus described.

'There are about one hundred sail of Spaniards, who come to take cod; who make it all wet, and dry it when they come home; besides twenty or thirty more, who come from Biscay to kill whales for train. These are better appointed for shipping and furniture of munition than any other nation save the English, who commonly are lords of the harbors. As touching their tonnage, I think it may be near five or six thousand. Of Portugals there are not above fifty sail, whose tonnage may amount to five thousand, and they make all wet. Of the French nation are about one hundred and fifty sail; the most of their shipping is very small, not past forty tons; among which some are great, and reasonably well appointed; better than the Portugals, and not so well as the Spaniards; the burden of them may be about seven thousand. The English vessels have increased in four years from thirty to fifty sail. The trade which our nation hath to Iceland, maketh that the English are not there in such numbers as other nations.' *Hakluyt*, vol. iii. p. 132.

It was not until the year 1604, that any permanent settlement was made on this part of the continent of America. In the year preceding, king Henry Third, of France, granted to the Sieur De Monts, a patent constituting him lieutenant general of the territory of Acadia, from the fortieth to the forty sixth degree of north latitude, with power to subdue the inhabitants, and convert them to the Christian faith. De Monts sailed in March with two vessels for his new government, taking with him as a pilot Samuel Champlain, who had the preceding year visited the St Lawrence, and who afterwards became the founder of the colony of Canada. He was also accompanied by Mr Poutrincourt, who had long been desirous of visiting America. They arrived on the 6th of May at a harbor on the southeastern side of the Peninsula of Acadia, now Liverpool, where they found one of their countrymen, named Rossignol, trading without a license with the Indians. They seized his ship and cargo, thus obtaining a seasonable supply of provisions, without which they must have abandoned the expedition, and left him only the poor consolation of giving his name to the harbor where he was taken. They coasted along the southern and western shore of the peninsula, entering the Bay of Fundy, until they came to the mouth of Annapolis river. Poutrincourt was so charmed with

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the beauty of this place, that he resolved to establish his residence there, and having obtained a grant of it, he gave it the name of Port Royal. De Monts proceeded to make a farther examination of the bay. On coming to the river to which he gave the name of St John, he ascended it a distance of fifty miles. Cruising farther along the western shore, he came to an island in the middle of a river, where he resolved to pass the winter and build a fort, to which he gave the name of St Croix.

At a subsequent period it became a matter of great importance to identify this island, and although it is very particularly described both by Lescarbot and Champlain, in their histories of the voyages of De Monts, it was found very difficult to determine it with certainty. The descriptions, however, were sufficient to indicate Bone Island, in the Schoodick river, as the probable seat of this encampment, and the discovery of bricks, iron spikes, and other articles, buried beneath the soil, confirmed the supposition, and led to the establishment of the boundary line of the United States upon that river, as the true St Croix.

After passing an inclement winter at St Croix, De Monts, in the spring of 1605, removed the colony to Port Royal, where houses were erected, and measures were taken for cultivating the soil, and obtaining the means of subsistence. The following year vines, wheat, and garden vegetables were planted. This was the first permanent European settlement in America north of Florida. The first permanent settlement in Virginia was made two years after, and the first in Canada a year later. In the year 1613, at a time of peace between France and England, Captain Argall came with a hostile force, and pillaged and destroyed the place, and carried off to Virginia the greater part of the inhabitants. The rest dispersed themselves in the woods and took refuge among the savages, or escaped to the St Lawrence, and joined Champlain at Quebec. Argall also destroyed the buildings, which De Monts had left standing at St Croix. The date of this exploit is erroneously given in the work before us as in 1618. In 1614, Poutrincourt, who had been in France, returned to Port Royal, where he found a remnant of his colony still remaining. In 1621 king James the First of England, made a grant of this country, extending from the river

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St Croix to the St Lawrence, under the name of Nova Scotia, to Sir William Alexander. No settlement was ever made under this grant, though an expedition was fitted out for the purpose, which only reached Newfoundland the first season, and after arriving on the coast of Nova Scotia the following spring, soon gave up the design, and returned to England.

We do not propose to go into a detailed history of this colony, but we will enumerate some of the vicissitudes of fortune to which it was subjected. Its weakness, and its vicinity to the more powerful English colonies, exposed it to a hostile visit at every successive war, in which the mother countries were engaged. In 1628 Port Royal was captured by an English squadron, as Quebec was in the year following, but by the treaty of St Germain, in 1632, both Canada and Acadia were restored to France. Before this date the French had made other settlements in Nova Scotia, and soon after they established themselves upon the St Croix and the Penobscot, then called Pentagoet. These last settlements were considered by the people of Massachusetts as an encroachment upon their territory. When, therefore, in 1654, a squadron was sent by Oliver Cromwell to Boston, for the purpose of aiding in an expedition against the Dutch at New York, but which, in consequence of a long passage, did not arrive until after the news of peace, it was concluded to direct the force, which had been destined for the Manhadoes, against these intruders, although the English and French governments were not at open war with each other. Their visit was probably unexpected, and they took possession, with little resistance, of Pentagoet, St John's, Port Royal, and three other posts in Nova Scotia. On the following year a treaty of commerce was entered into between the two countries, and the English government putting in a claim to Acadia, the question was referred to commissioners. It remained in the mean time in possession of the English. By the treaty of Breda, in 1667, Acadia was retroceded to France, but when orders were given to the English commander to evacuate the country, he declined at first executing the order, on the ground that only Port Sable and La Heve, were within the limits of Acadia, and that Pentagoet, St John, and Port Royal belonged to Massachusetts. These places were, however, given up to the French in 1670, but in 1674 and 1680, Pentagoet

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and St John were captured by expeditions fitted out from Boston; but they were again, in pursuance of orders from England, given up to the French.

In 1689 war broke out again, and in the following spring an armament of eight vessels, with seven hundred men, under the command of Sir William Phipps, was fitted out from Boston, by order of the Massachusetts General Court, which took possession of Port Royal, and the other French posts in Acadia; but at the peace of Ryswick in 1697, they were again restored, to the great dissatisfaction of the people of New England. In 1702 hostilities were again declared against France. During the whole of the bloody war, which for the ten succeeding years agitated Europe, the colonies of New England were involved in a disastrous conflict with the French of Nova Scotia and Canada, and their allies the Indians. These colonies made great efforts to reduce both of the French settlements. An expedition fitted out from Boston in 1707 against Port Royal was unsuccessful, but a more formidable armament was raised three years afterwards for the same object, which was more fortunate. After a short siege the Governor of Port Royal surrendered by capitulation, and the place was from that time called Annapolis Royal. By the treaty of Utrecht, which terminated this war in 1713, Nova Scotia, otherwise called Acadia, according to its ancient limits, was ceded to England. The island of Cape Breton, and the other islands situated in the Gulf of St Lawrence were not ceded, but were expressly reserved to France. Louisburgh, the capital of Cape Breton, became an important military post for the security of the French American possessions, and it was consequently fortified with great expense, and protected by a considerable garrison. In the winter of 1745, France and England being then at war, the colony of Massachusetts, with some aid from the other New England colonies, fitted out an armament of four thousand men, for the reduction of this place, which, with the fortunate cooperation of several British ships of war, succeeded in compelling the surrender of the place, after a siege of forty nine days. The success of this bold enterprise exasperated the French, and they made the following year an effort to retake it, and to recover Nova Scotia, but failed of their object. By the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, however, the island of Cape

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Breton was restored to France, and as other parts of the treaty were to be executed before the restoration of this conquest could be effected, it was stipulated that two English gentlemen of rank should remain in France as hostages for the faithful performance of this engagement. Lords Sussex and Cathcart were sent to France as hostages, where they were detained until July in the following year.

This treaty provided for the appointment of commissioners to settle the boundaries of Nova Scotia, as ceded by the treaty of Utrecht, and other questions in dispute. These commissioners met at Paris in September 1750, and continued their conferences until 1755. Their discussions were afterwards published in four quarto volumes. The English commissioners maintained that the ancient limits of Acadia, recognised by the treaty of Utrecht, extended from the river Penobscot to the river and bay of St Lawrence. The French commissioners on the other hand maintained, that the province of Acadia included only that part of the peninsula along the southeastern coast, extending from Cape Fourchu to Cape Canso. These discussions were interrupted by the war of 1756, in the course of which Louisburgh was again captured by a powerful British force, and at the close of which, by the treaty of Fontainbleau, France renounced to Great Britain all pretensions to Nova Scotia or Acadia in all its parts, and guarantied to her, in full property, Canada with all its dependencies, together with the island of Cape Breton and all the other islands in the gulf and river of St Lawrence.

Nova Scotia thus became, by an undisputed title, a British province. The government had before this date taken some measures to establish in it a British population, the whole number of inhabitants being at this date about twelve thousand, of whom less than three thousand were French Acadians. The French inhabitants were at an earlier period much more numerous. At the date of the conquest of the country by Sir William Phipps, they were estimated at six or seven thousand souls. They carried on an extensive fishery, and a trade in furs and lumber. Soon after the treaty of Utrecht, an English governor was sent into the province, but not more than five or six English families resorted thither. The French inhabitants were permitted to keep their possessions, and to enjoy their religion. They

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would however gladly have chosen the alternative offered them by the English governor, of leaving the country, had they the means of transporting themselves with their property. Some of them went to Canada, and others to Cape Breton, where their countrymen were founding a colony. Those who remained were repeatedly required to take the oath of allegiance, but they constantly refused it, alleging that they were detained in the country against their wishes. They claimed an exemption from the obligation to bear arms against their countrymen on the ground of a promise, which they alleged was made to them. They were in consequence of this exemption called the French neutrals.

All the powers of government were at first vested in the governor, but a new captain general of the province was appointed in 1719, who was instructed to form a council of the British inhabitants. For want of inhabitants, he was obliged to take his council from the officers of the garrison, one inhabitant only being admitted to it. Paul Mascarene, in a letter dated in 1748, to governor Shirley, which is preserved in Hazard's Collections, complains that there were no proper persons to form a civil government, there being no British planter or inhabitant, that could be properly so called, in the province. The French would not, on account of their religion, take the oath of supremacy, and they were besides generally of the lowest class of farmers, poor and unlearned, of whom not more than one in a hundred could either read or write. To keep up some form of government among these people, who had no magistrates residing among them, and were entirely unacquainted with the English laws, they were ordered to choose annually, in their several districts, persons called deputies, to act in their behalf, and to publish the orders of the governor. These deputies, twenty four in number, were authorised to act as arbitrators, in small matters of controversy between the inhabitants, and from their decision an appeal was allowed to the governor and council. For the hearing of these appeals, the council sat three times a year; on these occasions the inhabitants generally pleaded their own causes, assisted by an interpreter, who repeated their arguments to the council in English.

The Abbé Raynal gives a highly embellished picture of the happy condition of this little society during this period.

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He represents them as leading a life of virtuous simplicity, free from the cares and the vices of more polished communities, having but few wants, and those easily supplied by the fruits of their cheerful labor, upon a productive soil, and in extensive fields. The lands upon the borders of the bays and rivers were highly cultivated, and produced large crops of wheat, oats, rye, and potatoes. They had an abundance of cattle, sheep, and horses, and bred also large quantities of poultry, which afforded an agreeable variety to their food. They manufactured from the fleeces of their sheep, and the flax of their own cultivation, coarse cloths and linens, and the few foreign luxuries, which they had learned to prize, they procured by means of a small trade which they carried on with Louisburgh. No magistrate came among them, they paid no taxes, and performed no military duties. They lived a life of continued harmony like a society of brethren. What little disputes arose among them were adjusted by the arbitration of persons of their own election, and as to crimes none were committed among them. The state of manners, and the ease with which the means of subsistence were procured, led them to contract early marriages. Neither conjugal infidelity, nor an unlawful intercourse between the sexes, was known among them. The consequence of this happy state of society was a rapid increase of population, which was stated by the author above named to have reached eighteen thousand.

In this description there is undoubtedly some exaggeration. During the war which preceded the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, the French neutrals became highly excited, they were solicited by their brethren in the neighboring provinces to take up arms, and they were regarded by the English with great jealousy. At the close of the war, the British ministry turned their attention to the importance of procuring a settlement of Nova Scotia by a British population. In a pamphlet, published in the year 1748, written for the purpose of recommending measures for this object, it is represented as absolutely necessary for the safety and interest of the northern colonies, that the population of Nova Scotia should be put on a different footing, that this cannot be done better than by encouraging protestants to settle among them, and that such is the attachment of the French Acadians to the Romish faith, that

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it will prevent the settlement of protestants, unless it be done in compact bodies, and under the cover of fortifications. It is asserted, that ever since the subjection of the province to the British crown, the inhabitants have preserved their attachment to France, that before the war they supplied the French at Louisburgh, not only with provisions, but with wives, that they assisted them in erecting their fortifications, in their fisheries, and in piloting their vessels, and that during the war many of them actually joined a body of French and Indians in arms. This pamphlet gives a very satisfactory description of the state of the province at that time. The author estimates the number of French families inhabiting Annapolis Royal, and the villages on the Annapolis river, at about three hundred, those at Chignecto and in that neighborhood at two hundred, those at Chipotee at sixty or seventy, and those at Mines, composed of a number of villages extending six or eight miles in length, at one thousand. Besides these settlements there were three or four families on the river St John, and a few at Malagash. The whole population was estimated at ten or eleven thousand. The greater part of their agricultural improvements were confined to the cultivation of the marsh lands, large tracts of which were rendered very productive by raising dykes to exclude the tides. The soil, thus protected from the sea, was very rich, and admitted of long cultivation without the use of manure.

In the summer of 1749, a colony of three thousand seven hundred and fifty persons, induced by the encouragements offered by the British government, sailed from England for Chebucto, and there planted the town of Halifax. The government besides making grants of land to the settlers engaged to build them houses, and to pay the expenses of the passage and of the first year's subsistence. Colonel Cornwallis was appointed by the king governor of the colony. Before the approach of winter, three hundred comfortable wooden houses were erected, and surrounded by a strong palisade. The new colony was soon involved in hostilities with the Indians, and with the French neutrals. It would be too long a digression from our main purpose, to enter into a history of this unhappy contest. The colony, aided by a considerable body of British troops, was able to dictate to their enemy such terms as they saw fit. The Indians were reduced to subjection, and of the

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French Acadians, some were destroyed, some escaped to the neighboring provinces, and others were transported by the British to distant countries, so that at the date of the peace of 1763, those who remained were reduced to the small number above stated.

In 1753, two hundred Dutch and German families were transported to Lunenburgh, at the expense of the British government, by whom also they were furnished with supplies for several years. Other settlements were formed in Nova Scotia by emigrants from New England. In 1763, a settlement was made at Barrington, near Cape Sable, by one hundred and sixty families from Cape Cod, who transferred thither their stock and fishing vessels, and laid the foundation of a prosperous town. In 1783, on the acknowledgment of American Independence, a large number of loyalists from the United States, many of them men of property and education, resorted to Nova Scotia, to the great benefit of the province. Some of these injudiciously attempted to build a large town called Shelburne, at port Roseway, where there is a fine harbor, and in a short time the town contained ten thousand white inhabitants and twelve hundred blacks. But it was soon found that the situation was not well chosen, and it began to decline. Many of the inhabitants returned to the United States, and others settled in different parts of the province. Emigrants from the United States have also settled in other towns.

By the aid of these several emigrations, and others of less note, the population of Nova Scotia for the last seventy years has rapidly increased, so that the present number, exclusive of Indians, is estimated at one hundred and twenty five thousand souls. This number, however, is considerably greater than the result of any actual enumeration. A census taken in 1817 gave but seventy eight thousand three hundred and forty five; but this was known to be quite defective. From the history, which has been given of the origin of this population, it must be obvious, that it is of quite a mixed character. It is composed of Indians, French Acadians, English, or the descendants of English, Germans, Dutch, Scotch, Irish, and American royalists. These various ingredients have not yet had time to amalgamate, as individuals survive of nearly all the classes of emigrants. In some also there is

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little tendency to lose their original character. The French Acadians form several small distinct settlements, have little intercourse with the other inhabitants, and do not intermix with them by marriage. They retain a corrupt French dialect, though many of the men understand English. They are moral in their habits, simple in their mode of life, cheerful in disposition, contented and happy. We are not able to ascertain their present numbers. Of the Indians there are about fifteen hundred persons, or three hundred and fifty families, consisting of the tribe of the *Micmacs*. They were formerly a ferocious race, but the French succeeded in conciliating their friendship, and induced them to embrace the Roman Catholic religion, of the ceremonial parts of which they became strict observers. They still live in a savage state, subsisting principally by hunting and fishing. They however manufacture baskets, buckets, and other articles of simple workmanship, which they barter with their venison and furs, for cloths, blankets, powder and shot, knives, and other articles of necessity in their way of living. They have no domestic animals but the dog, and all attempts to lead their attention to agriculture have been unsuccessful.

The peninsula of Nova Scotia is three hundred miles in length, and a hundred miles in its greatest breadth, and embraces a superficies of fifteen thousand six hundred square miles. Its shores are extremely irregular, and it is so intersected by bays and inlets, that navigable waters come within thirty miles of every part of the province. It is divided into ten counties, one of which consists of the island of Cape Breton. The counties are subdivided into townships, after the manner of the states of New England. It lies in about the latitude of the state of Maine, but being nearly surrounded by water, the climate is milder than that of Maine. The air is in general clear and pleasant, except in the neighborhood of Halifax, and some other parts of the Atlantic coast, which are subject to fogs. The earth is generally covered with snow from the last week in December to the first in March. The opening of the spring is often retarded by the quantity of ice, which floats along the coast, but when vegetation begins, it advances rapidly. The summer heat is moderate, and the autumns are remarkably pleasant. The soil is quite productive, particularly in the quarter bordering on the bay of Fundy, where

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there are extensive tracts of alluvial land, which are extremely rich. There are also in all parts of the province, large tracts of *interval* land, on the borders of the rivers and brooks, which are very fertile. The upland varies materially in quality and value, but much of it, and often in extensive tracts, is of a good quality, and capable of being made very productive. Agriculture, however, has been until within a few years much neglected, but recently, in consequence of the exertions of a few persons, a very rapid improvement has been made in this branch of industry.

No country could be more thoroughly watered than Nova Scotia. It abounds in bays, rivers, and lakes. The bay of Fundy on its western border, and the small bays and streams which open into it are remarkable for their very high tides. These vary from twenty four to sixty or seventy feet. The principal rivers are the Shubenacadie, or river of Acadie, which rises near Halifax, and running in a northwesterly direction into the Mines Basin, nearly divides the province into two equal parts, and the Annapolis, which is navigable for large vessels to a distance of forty miles, and is bounded by rich and extensive meadows. The province is furnished with a great number of excellent harbors, as well as with abundant facilities for internal navigation. These latter are capable of being greatly improved by canals, for which two or three projects are in agitation, but none of them are in the progress of execution. An act, however, was passed by the provincial legislature in March last, authorising the incorporation of a company for making a canal by the river and lake of the Shubenacadie, to unite the waters of the Basin of Mines with the harbor of Halifax, and a sum of money was appropriated to enable the lieutenant governor to procure the surveys necessary for judging of the practicability of the project, and forming an estimate of the expense. Considerable grants are made annually for the construction of roads and bridges throughout the province, which are expended under the superintendence of commissioners appointed for the purpose by the lieutenant governor. At the last session of the legislature, in addition to the customary grants, the sum of a thousand pounds was placed at the disposal of the lieutenant governor for the erection of stone bridges over the

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brooks on the principal roads, in the place of those of wood, which go to decay.

The trade of Nova Scotia is perhaps not so extensive as might be expected, from the remarkable local advantages which it possesses for this pursuit. The regulations under which it is placed by the British government are more liberal than they have formerly been, and afford a wide field for profitable enterprise. There are still restrictions of which the colonists complain, and which the mother country may perhaps hereafter remove. By an act of parliament passed on the 24th of June 1822, it was made lawful to import into the port of Halifax, and other ports enumerated in the British American colonies, from any part of North or South America, or the West Indies, certain articles enumerated, including most of the varieties of produce of the soil and forests, either in British ships, or in ships of the country of which the articles imported are the produce. By another act of the same date, it is made lawful to import into Halifax, in British ships, from any port in Europe or Africa, a variety of articles enumerated, including wine, brandy, fruits, flour, grain, oil, &c. and also to export to those countries any articles, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the colony, or which have been legally imported. Since the date of these acts, the people of Nova Scotia, in addition to the West India trade, the fisheries, the trade with the other colonies, and that with Great Britain, carry on a trade with the United States, in their own vessels and in those of the United States, and also in their own vessels a trade with the ports in the Mediterranean, and other parts of Europe and Africa. The duties paid on foreign imports are low. On fruits, brandy, and most other articles imported from Europe, the duty is seven and a half per cent on the cost; on Madeira wine, £7 7s. the tun of 252 gallons, and on French wines £10 10s. the tun, in addition to the seven and a half per cent; on flour and grain from the continent of Europe, the duty is twelve per cent on the cost. These duties are much lower than are paid on the importation of like articles in the United States. According to a statement which has been published, of the amount of dutiable goods imported into Nova Scotia in the year 1823, there were imported 21,517 gallons of brandy and gin, 484,989 gallons of rum, 25,277 gallons of wine, 243,957 gallons of

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molasses, 14,907 cwt. of sugar, 44,396 lbs. of coffee, and goods paying a duty of three and three quarters per cent and five per cent, of the value of £217,014, all of which paid a duty of £38,385 9s. 8d. The imports into the province from the West Indies in the same year, employed 186 vessels of 16,410 tons, with 954 men. The exports to the West Indies, employed 197 vessels, of 18,038 tons, and 1057 men. The imports from the United States, consisting principally of flour, meal, and corn, were made in 62 vessels, and the exports to the United States, consisting of fish, gypsum, coal, and other articles, were made in 62 vessels. The vessels employed in the coasting trade between Nova Scotia and the neighboring American colonies are from one to two hundred.

The provincial legislature consists of three branches, the governor or lieutenant governor, the council, and the assembly. The governor, who is appointed by the crown of Great Britain, is the captain general and commander in chief; he commissions all officers of the militia, appoints the judges of the courts of common law, justices of the peace, and other officers, and possesses the power of pardoning offences, except in cases of murder and high treason; he presides solely in the high court of chancery, and exercises within his jurisdiction the powers of the lord high chancellor of Great Britain; he is ordinary, and has the power of granting probate of wills, and administration, and with the council sits as a court of error. The council consists of twelve members, who are appointed by the governor. They act as a council of state, as judges in the court of error, and also as a part of the legislature, in which latter capacity they sit as the upper house, distinct from the governor. The house of assembly consists of forty one members. The county of Halifax chooses four members, and the other counties two each. The town of Halifax also chooses two members, and there are seventeen towns which choose one each. The qualifications for a voter, or a representative, are a yearly income of forty shillings from real estate, or a house and the land on which it stands in fee simple, or a hundred acres of land, five of which are under cultivation. The legislature has the power of making local laws, not repugnant to the laws of England. The king, however, reserves the right of disannulling any law within three years after its publication.

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There is a university, called King's college, situated at Windsor, which is regarded as the parent of all the literary institutions in Nova Scotia. Its charter was granted in 1802. It has at present four professorships, viz. of divinity and Hebrew; of the moral sciences and metaphysics; of mathematics, natural philosophy and astronomy; and of grammar, rhetoric, and logic. Other professorships are to be established as soon as the revenues of the college will render it practicable. There are four lay scholarships, of twenty pounds sterling a year, which may be held for four years, and twelve divinity scholarships, of thirty pounds sterling, which may be held seven years. There are at present about thirty resident students. The college edifice consists of five large wooden buildings, three stories high, all under one roof. Subordinate to the university, and in its immediate vicinity, is the collegiate school. The principal of this school is eminently qualified for his station, and the school has acquired a high reputation, and has a large number of students. It has a building of freestone, erected at an expense of five thousand pounds, which affords apartments for the head master, his family and ushers, and forty boarders. At this school are twelve divinity scholarships, of thirty pounds each, which may be held for seven years, or until matriculation at the college.

There are two or three other useful public schools, which are under the direction of trustees. In the year 1811 a law was passed to establish a grammar school in each county, in which Latin and Greek, mathematics, English grammar, and other studies should be pursued, to be under the direction of trustees appointed by the governor, and the masters to be paid out of the provincial treasury. In the same year another law was passed, called the school act, providing, that in any settlement consisting of thirty families, if the majority of inhabitants shall vote a sum not less than fifty pounds for a school, to be assessed in the manner of poor rates, they shall receive from the provincial treasury the further sum of twenty five pounds. These laws have suffered some modification, and we are not able to ascertain how far they are now carried into effect. Considerable sums, however, we know are appropriated from the public treasury for the support of schools. Among the appropriations by the legislature at their last session, we observe a grant of a hundred and twenty pounds to

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each county and district, for the encouragement of education, and a hundred pounds each to the trustees of three incorporated schools described in the grant. In addition to these means of promoting education in Nova Scotia, a college was established at Halifax in 1820, under the patronage of the Earl of Dalhousie, then governor of the province, called Dalhousie College, the design of which was declared to be 'for the education of students in the several branches of science and literature, as they are commonly taught in the university of Edinburgh.' A very spacious and handsome stone building has been erected, and the sum of nine thousand seven hundred and fifty pounds sterling has been invested in the three per cent stocks, as a fund for the support of its officers, but its professorships are not yet filled, and the author of the work before us expresses his regret, that so much money should be expended in a way not likely to be useful for many years, instead of being appropriated to the endowment of additional professorships in King's college, and to the erection of the new buildings, which are much wanted in that institution. These various provisions for the encouragement of education in this infant colony exhibit a liberal and enlightened spirit on the part of the people and legislature, which deserves to be noticed and commended. The efforts of individuals to improve the agriculture of the province have also been liberally seconded by the legislature, by annual grants in aid of the funds raised by voluntary contribution, to be distributed in the form of premiums for agricultural improvements. The legislature in March last granted the sum of five hundred pounds, to be divided for these objects among the agricultural societies. By the exertions of these societies the face of the province has been much improved, and from the zeal and intelligence of their leading members still greater benefits are to be expected.

The book, whose title is placed at the head of this article, and to which we are indebted for much of the information here given, is quite a reputable work, of an unpretending character, apparently accurate in its statements, and affording a much more ample and satisfactory view, than has been presented in any previous publication, of the present condition and prospects of the province.

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ART. IX.—*An Abridgment of the Law of Nisi Prius, by William Selwyn, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn, Barrister at Law. Second American, from the Fifth London Edition; with Notes and References to the Decisions of the Courts of this Country.* By HENRY WHEATON, Counsellor at Law. Albany, 1823. 2 vols. 8vo.

SELWYN'S NISI PRIUS has deservedly acquired a high reputation. Of the treatises on the same subject which preceded it, the introduction to the law relative to trials at Nisi Prius, by Mr Justice Buller, is incomparably the best; but though of great authority, from the learning and fine talents of the author, it is deficient in method, and is in many parts incomplete. It has the appearance of having been sent to the press from the notes of a commonplace book, without much attempt to improve their arrangement, or supply their deficiencies. But though it can claim little merit as a systematic treatise, it discovers in every page the accurate learning and discrimination of the author, of whom it is praise enough to say, that he was recommended by Lord Mansfield to be his successor in the high office of Chief Justice of the King's Bench. Mr Espinasse's Digest, which was published some years after, is a laborious compilation of adjudged cases, collected without much choice, and not very happily arranged. By the aid of a copious index, it has proved a valuable work for reference, and may be used with advantage by those, who will consider it merely as a guide to the Reports. A work was still wanted, which should present with accuracy, and in some good method, the principles most likely to occur in practice; which should extract from the leading cases the precise point decided; and should contain such references to subordinate or collateral cases, as would direct the inquirer to the sources of more enlarged knowledge. This want Mr Selwyn has in a great measure supplied. In his treatise, he is more copious than Buller, more accurate than Espinasse, and more methodical than either. A happy example of his talent in compression and arrangement may be found under the title *Assumpsit*, in treating of the consideration necessary to support the action.

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Mr Wheaton would have performed an acceptable service to the profession, if he had merely presented a new edition of Selwyn, with the corrections and improvements of the last London edition. But he has done much more than this. He has extracted the principles of nearly thirteen hundred American cases, and inserted them in the principal work, under their appropriate titles. In selecting these cases from the great mass of American decisions, we think he has acted judiciously in confining his attention to the courts of the United States, and of those states in which the science of law has been cultivated with most success. There is, undoubtedly, a great difference in the talents and learning usually found in the judicial tribunals of different states, and there should be as much difference in the authority attributed to their decisions. A habit of indiscriminate citation of adjudged cases would have a fatal effect upon the science and intellectual elevation of the bar. In that 'competition of opposite analogies,' which is the source of nearly all the controversies of our courts, the argument is more or less forcible, not only as the analogy is more or less striking, but as the analogical principle is itself well or ill founded. From the great pressure of business in the English courts, very little attention seems now to be paid to the examination of principles; and there is a correspondent decline in the character of the bar. Arguments are there carried on merely by the citation of opposing cases; and he who has the readiest memory, or the largest brief, seems to bear the palm of forensic eloquence. Let any one compare the Reports of Barnewell and Alderston, with those of Cowper, or Douglass, and he will seem to have passed from the barren subtleties of the schoolmen, to the enlarged philosophy of Bacon and Locke. A similar effect will be experienced in taking up Johnson, or Wheaton, after examining their contemporary English Reports.

Happily for the members of the bar in the United States, their attention is called not only to a greater variety of subjects than those discussed in the English courts, but frequently to subjects of much higher importance. The great constitutional questions, involving not only the principles of public law, but the foundations of government itself, which are now so frequently and ably discussed in the courts of the United

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States, and occasionally in the several state courts, are sufficient to task the powers of the most gifted minds; and they have, in fact, been the occasion of a display of intellectual greatness, which is even yet but inadequately appreciated among us. They have introduced a new style of forensic eloquence, in which the enlarged views and liberal arguments of the statesman, are happily blended with the minute accuracy and strict logic of the lawyer. *Non à Prætoris edicto, ut plerique nunc, neque à duodecim tabulis, ut superiores, sed penitus ex intimâ philosophiâ hauriendam juris disciplinam.* The effect of such studies upon the profession is in the highest degree salutary, and is already becoming apparent. In our bright anticipations of the happiness and glory of our country, it is not one of the feeblest supports of hope, that the professors of law, in every country, an active, astute, and powerful class of men, are with us rapidly advancing in knowledge and liberality.

But to return to Mr Wheaton, from whom we have already strayed too far, it cannot be expected that we should give a minute account of the additions he has made to the work of Selwyn. In several of the titles, particularly Assumpsit, Bills of Exchange, Ejectment, and Insurance, they occur in almost every page. Under the head of covenant there is a valuable note on the proper measure of damages for the breach of covenants in a deed; a question that has been much considered by the courts in this country. The subject of the title necessary to support the action of ejectment is wholly omitted by Mr Selwyn; but the deficiency is well supplied by his editor. Under the head of Mandamus, we find a well digested account of the American decisions on this salutary remedy of the common law. The case of *Baker & al.* vs. *Fales*, XVI Mass. Rep. 147, in which it is held that replevin lies for a mere wrongful detention of goods, even when they had never been in the plaintiff's possession before seizure on the writ, and the authorities referred to by the court in rendering judgment, are very elaborately examined in a note in the second volume; for which the editor confesses himself indebted to a learned friend. It well deserves the attention of the professional reader.

On the whole, this edition of Selwyn may be safely recommended as a useful manual. Mr Wheaton has fulfilled the

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duties of an editor in a manner, which will detract nothing from his established reputation. He has compressed within a narrow compass a great body of American law, and has presented it in a form the most convenient for practice. He deserves, and will doubtless receive the patronage of the profession.

ART. X.—*Observaciones sobre las Leyes de Indias, i sobre la Independencia de América.* Por LUIS LOPEZ MENDEZ. Publicadas en LA BIBLIOTECA AMERICANA. Londres. 1823.

THE events of the last twenty years in South America, whether considered in themselves alone, or in their natural and necessary consequences, claim to be ranked among the most remarkable features in the history of the present age. Within that period there have been in the old world political experiments, changes, and convulsions; wars long and bloody; and conspiracies of crowned heads to rob men of their rights, and the world of its peace. These occurrences have had, and must continue to have, a deep and lasting effect on the political relations, and social being and happiness of mankind. But it is no extravagant position to assume, that the changes which have in the mean time occurred in South America, the establishment of political institutions, the advancement of civil culture and knowledge, and the progressive emancipation of a whole continent, are destined to have an incalculably more important bearing on the future condition of the human race, than the great and dazzling scenes, which have been exhibited on the theatre of Europe.

Many wise men in this country, to say nothing of the eastern hemisphere, have ventured to express their doubts of the result of the revolutionary struggle, in which the South Americans have been engaged. We remember well, that but two years ago, when our Congress recognised the independence of the southern republics, several of the representatives raised but feeble voices in favor of this measure. And although one only had the courage to come before the world

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and proclaim his dissent, yet it was well known, that others harmonised with his views, and were restrained from speaking boldly by the judicious consideration, that in a case of this nature an apparent unanimity in the national counsels was paramount to the declaration of a private sentiment. But the time has come when the most skeptical are obliged to lay aside their doubts; South America is free; her independence is as completely established as was that of our own states at any time between the declaration of independence and the establishment of peace.

It will be a marvel in the eyes of future ages, that in these United States a suspicion should have lurked in any mind as to the result of the contest. It will hardly be believed, that a short half century could have obliterated from our thoughts the grievances which we suffered, the wrongs of which we complained, and the fixed, unyielding resolution with which we determined to resist them. But if we had injuries to avenge, and wrongs to redress, what shall we say of the colonies at the south? What shall we say of sixteen millions of people, who suffered under a burden of oppression, which had for three centuries crushed their ancestors into the earth, and compared with which, the evils we were so loud to deprecate, and so prompt to remedy, would hardly be felt as an inconvenience? The tyranny of Spain over her colonies has been one of the most hateful, the most indefensible, whether on the ground of right or expediency, which the world has ever witnessed. But the measure of iniquity became full, and the shackles of slavery were to be broken in pieces. The example of other nations, the progress of knowledge, and the growth of intellectual and physical strength, silently pointed to the hour of successful resistance.

In the present state of things there is not the remotest prospect, that the South American colonies will ever again be subjected to the dominion of Old Spain, nor indeed to any European power. Ferdinand, it is true, since his ignoble restoration, has made a feeble and humiliating appeal to his 'dear and intimate allies,' imploring their assistance in bringing back the wayward colonies to their former allegiance, and all out of the purest affection for his beloved subjects in the other hemisphere, whom he 'beholds with grief' driven by their own follies to the 'brink of a most dangerous precipice.'

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In addition to these generous motives of paternal solicitude, he affirms that the inhabitants of the South American provinces 'cannot be happy, unless they live in brotherly connexion with those who civilised those countries.' And farthermore the document states, that 'his Majesty, confiding in the sentiments of his allies, hopes that they will assist him in accomplishing the worthy object of *upholding the principles of order and legitimacy*, the subversion of which, once commenced in America, would presently communicate to Europe.' Such is a specimen of the message, which Ferdinand taught his minister, Count Ofalia, to send to his European allies on the 26th of December, 1823. This last head of the appeal was no doubt intended to operate with the greatest weight; and it can hardly be thought wonderful, that Ferdinand should imagine these motives irresistible on those 'dear allies,' who had so lately ravaged his own dominions, under pretence of establishing 'order and legitimacy,' and teaching the deluded Spaniards how to love their king and be happy.

But it does not appear, that the sovereigns of Europe are prepared to revive the spirit of Peter the Hermit, or to go back at one leap to the fanaticism of the eleventh century, and make a crusade against the South American states, even for the attainment of so worthy a purpose as setting up the standard of legitimacy in these remote regions, and quickening the love of the people towards his Catholic Majesty at Madrid. The English government has taken a noble and determined stand in regard to this subject, and one which must effectually restrain the ambition of the allied powers, however aspiring and restless, from any attempts to extend the influence of their conspiracy beyond the domains of their own continent. In the whole history of diplomacy there is nothing more honorable to the rulers of a nation, than the frank, bold, and decided tone of Mr Canning's official conference with the French ambassador, Prince de Polignac, and of his letter to Sir William A'Court, English ambassador at Madrid, in reply to Count Ofalia's communication. The British minister, after having expressed himself thoroughly convinced, that the old system can never again be restored in the colonies, declares 'that in case of any attempt on the part of Spain to revive the obsolete interdiction of intercourse

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with countries over which she had no longer any absolute dominion; or, in that of the employment of foreign assistance to establish her dominion in those countries by force of arms, *the recognition of such new states by his Majesty would be decided and immediate.*' And the Prince de Polignac himself affirmed, on the part of France, 'that his government believed it to be utterly hopeless to reduce Spanish America to the state of its former relation to Spain,' and that 'she abjured, in any case, any design of acting against the colonies by force of arms.' These declarations are explicit and without reserve, and taken in connexion with the lofty ground assumed by the cabinet of the United States, and applauded by the unanimous voice of the nation, they put the question of South American emancipation completely and forever at rest.*

The same sentiments were reiterated in the most unequivocal manner, in a debate which occurred in the House of Lords, March 16th, on the Marquis of Lansdown's motion to recognise the independence of the South American republics. The mover maintained, that as these states were *de facto* independent, they ought to be recognised as such by all regular governments, whose duty and interest it was to establish a commercial and friendly intercourse with them. Lord Liverpool in reply was opposed to a formal recognition, chiefly on prudential grounds, although he agreed in the fullest terms, *that the states were de facto independent; and he went* farther and affirmed, that England had virtually and practically acknowledged their independence, by sending consuls into each republic, and forming substantial commercial relations. He moreover added, that he 'held as chimerical and absurd, the notion that Spain, in her present condition, or any condition perhaps which she ever filled, if she could be replaced in it, could have any means, by her own power and of herself, to conquer any part of those provinces.' It is no easy matter to come at once to the point of Lord Liverpool's speech, for he most clearly argues one way and decides another. He proves the South American states to be in

* See the Documents presented to both Houses of Parliament in March, 1824, containing a Memorandum of a conference between the Prince de Polignac and Mr Canning, October 9, 1823; Count Ofalia's circular, dated December 26, 1823; and Mr Canning's letter in reply, dated January 30, 1824.

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reality independent, and that they have been practically acknowledged by the British government, yet he is opposed to an open recognition, for the main reason, as far as we can learn, that he wishes 'to do it in a handsome and liberal way,' and the time for doing it after this manner has not yet come. He speaks throughout, however, in an elevated and manly tone, and the following remark will indicate, with sufficient plainness, his views of the sinister schemes of legitimacy, in contemplating an interference with South American affairs. 'We have shown,' says he, 'affection and good will to the colonies, we have shown that we are determined they shall not be trampled upon by alliances or confederacies, whatever their names or however formidable.' With this spirit in the British government, and with the perfectly sympathising feeling in the United States, the rising republics of the south have nothing to fear from the enthroned despotisms of Europe, which, however haughty, blood thirsty, and grasping, are not yet so blind to their own interest as to hazard the expense and disgrace of a defeated enterprise, in pursuit of so chimerical a project, as that of awakening a love for kings, and building up the decayed fabric of legitimacy at the foot of the Andes, and on the shores of the Pacific.

We do not suppose, that harmonious and well adjusted governments are to spring up at once from the soil of the South American republics. It would be more than a miracle if they should. How is it to be expected, that systems established on just and liberal principles, calculated to reconcile and unite discordant interests, and to remove evils deep rooted and of long growth, can be suddenly understood and put in practice by a people so much degraded, and so ill instructed, either by precept or example, in the forms of good government, as were the inhabitants of the South American provinces under the Spanish domination? It was a just remark of the wise and brave Bolivar, in his memorable address to the Congress of Venezuela, that 'the people of America, bound with the triple yoke of ignorance, tyranny, and vice, could not acquire either knowledge, power, or virtue.' He exhibits with much candor and sagacity the political condition of the republics, shows in what manner they differ from any other countries, where new modes of government have been instituted, and seems convinced, that the first attempts can be

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little more than experiments, whose success must remain doubtful till they have been thoroughly tried. He had the good fortune, however, in connexion with his able compatriots, to form a constitution for Colombia, which has thus far answered exceedingly well the ends of such an instrument, and to all appearance has settled the government on an immoveable and permanent basis. Of neither of the other republics can this be said in the same extent; and we have no doubt, that in the most of them the waves of popular commotion must yet run high, and the miseries of civil dissensions be severely felt, before the powerful will learn to govern, or the weak to be governed, the wise to lead, or the simple to follow.

The revolution was not the explosion of a moment; it was a spontaneous effort on the part of the colonies, which would not have been long deferred had the condition of Old Spain been ever so prosperous; it has not been the consequence of a sudden excitement, a partial intrigue, or any foreign or adventitious causes; its source lies deeper, and may be found in the gradual development of principles, which must always become active in the progress of society, and which in the present age cannot be checked, even under circumstances so humbling as were those of the South American colonists. They are principles deeply settled in the human heart, and which make every mind conscious of its right to freedom and selfgovernment, and to the power of controlling its own destiny; they are the principles of justice and truth, and will be triumphant. The elements of disorder will at length purify themselves; every day will impress a lesson of experience; the light of knowledge will shine brighter and brighter; the example of other countries will hold out practical instruction; and the intercourse with foreigners, necessarily promoted by a free trade with all the world; these means, and others of a corresponding nature, will in due time prepare all the republics of South America for instituting such forms of government, as will secure to the inhabitants rational liberty, peace, prosperity, and happiness. That they have existed so long, and risen above a state of absolute anarchy, is proof sufficient that the spirit of a salutary, improving change is at work among them.

We are told of the *royalist party* in some of the provinces, but in truth there is no such party, which makes any figure

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by an efficient opposition to the popular cause. In the interior of Mexico there has not been for the last two years a single armed Spanish soldier; and, if we mistake not, the entire remnant of the armies, which have been sent from Old Spain into that province, now consists of four hundred men shut up in the small garrison of St John d'Ulloa. There are no royalist forces in Colombia, Buenos Ayres, or Chile. In Peru a contest has been kept up, during the last two or three years, between the patriots and a party of nominal royalists; but in reality it has been no other than a civil war, in which each party has been struggling to establish its ascendency on the spot, without reference to the tottering throne of Ferdinand. Individuals are doubtless scattered here and there all over the Spanish provinces, who sigh for the old order of things, because they grieve to be deprived of the legalised monopolies and exactions, by which they have formerly grown rich and powerful. These persons will naturally be arrayed against the people, and be prepared to abet any measures, which shall enable them to sustain for another brief hour their declining fortunes; but the hope of bringing back the provinces to a subjection to the mother country has long ago ceased to be among the dreams even of this class.*

In the future pages of our journal, we hope to exhibit from time to time as full and minute a view of the revolutionary history of South America, as the nature of our work will admit. We have access to materials, which we trust will enable us to do reasonable justice to a subject, which is much less understood in this country than its merits deserve, or than our interests as a nation would seem to require, especially when relations of the most intimate kind are daily gaining strength

* The Marquis of Lansdown, in his speech above referred to, gives a striking illustration of the different degress of prosperity now existing in Old Spain and the South American republics. 'We have been told,' says he, 'that the governments of those countries wanted solidity, and that it was impossible to speak rationally of their independence. Let the barometer of public credit decide. That barometer was never yet known to fail on such occasions.' He then compares the values of the Spanish and some of the South American stocks, as they stood at that time in the market. The Colombian stock he said was fluctuating between 67 and 80, while that of the ancient government of Spain was between 18 and 22. This stock, he observed, had not, it was true, received the pledge of the king of Spain without reservation. But he again referred to stock, which carried with it the entire credit of the Spanish government, and this stock he found was only 51 or 52, while that of Chile was as high as 82 in every market of Europe.

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between the United States and the new republics at the South. These republics are our neighbors, and the time may come when they will be our rivals. Colombia has already more inhabitants than had the United States at the time our independence was declared ; and Mexico more than twice that number. As far as climate, fertility of soil, and the advantages for a prosperous commerce are concerned, these countries are in many respects before our own. In the character of their population, in moral and physical energy, they are far behind us ; but this is a disparity, which has grown more out of casualties than nature, and will every day become less obvious under liberal governments, and a free intercourse with other nations. In these points of view the new republics are already clothed with an importance, which gives them the highest claims on the attention of this country, and renders a knowledge of their condition, progress, and interests, among the most valuable attainments of the political inquirer.

At present we shall confine ourselves to a brief examination of the political and civil condition of the South American colonies, while subject to the power of Old Spain, with the particular purpose of adducing some of the evils under which they labored from the unjust and oppressive policy of the mother country. In these sources will be recognised the seeds of the revolution, and abundant proofs that it was brought to its ultimate crisis by the force of causes, whose operation was not to be resisted. For the sake of method our remarks will be directed successively to the nature of the Spanish colonial government ; the state of commerce and trade ; exactions and taxes ; ecclesiastical establishments ; education ; and the condition of the Indians.

I. As to the *government* of the Spanish dominions in South America, it is enough to trace the outlines of its principles, and of the manner in which it was administered, to show that it made no pretence to the character of a just and equitable system, and that it was much better calculated to encourage plunder and crime, than to protect the rights and property of the people. By special grants from the kings of Spain, the first discoverers and conquerors of the immense territories in the New World were invested with an authority nearly absolute. But this authority was so grossly abused by the cruelty of the early settlers towards the Indians, that Charles the Fifth

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found it necessary to take away by degrees many of their original privileges. He passed a decree by which South America was annexed to Spain, not in the character of colonies, but as an integral part of the kingdom. The Indians had before been regarded as vassals of the first settlers, but were now declared to be subjects of the king, and to stand in the same relation to him as the Castilians. It was on this ground, that some of the provinces refused to recognise the *Juntas*, that were instituted on the Peninsula after the abdication of Ferdinand, and affirmed, that, by virtue of the original compact with the king of Spain, they owed allegiance to no other authority than that of the sovereign. This decree of union is recorded in the Laws of the Indies, and contains in itself a pledge on the part of the king, that it should never be changed or annulled by his successors.*

The interpretation alluded to above, which was given to this decree by the colonists, is undoubtedly correct, but notwithstanding this royal decree, so early passed, and so frequently confirmed by the Spanish sovereigns, it is quite certain that no other testimony of its existence was ever felt, except its being recorded in the book of laws. All the Spanish American provinces were in principle and in fact governed as colonies. The system of colonial government began at an early period. The affairs of the Indies very soon rose to an importance, which required particular attention in their management, and in the year 1511 Ferdinand instituted a department for that purpose, which was denominated the *Council of the Indies.* It hardly went into operation till 1524, when it was confirmed and organised by Charles the Fifth, after the earnest remonstrances of Cordova, Las Casas, and others, against the lawless and tyrannical proceedings of the persons, who, by right of discovery or conquest, had assumed control over different districts. This Council was empowered to pass

* The decree was granted in 1519, and was confirmed at four different times by succeeding sovereigns. After stating the claims of the first settlers by reason of their labors and fidelity, and assigning these as motives for uniting them to the crown, the king closes the decree with the following pledge on his part.—Prometemos, i damos nuestra fee i palabra Real por Nos, i los Reyes nuestros sucessores, de que para siempre jamàs no seràn enagenadas, ni apartadas en todo, ó en parte, ni sus ciudades, ni poblaciones por ninguna causa, ó razon, ó en favor de ninguna persona; i si Nos, ó nuestros sucessores hiciéremos alguna donacion, ó enagenacion contra lo susodicho, sea nula, i por tal la declaramos. *Recopilacion de Leyes de las Indias. Tit. I. Lib. III. Ley.* 1.

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laws, ordinances, decrees, and such general and particular provisions, as might receive the approbation of the king, and as the exigences of the colonies required. In short, the supreme government of all the Spanish dominions in America centred in this body.* It was composed of a president, who was the king, four secretaries, and twenty two counsellors; and the members were commonly chosen from the number of those, who had been viceroys, or held high stations in the provinces. The Council of the Indies appointed all the officers employed in America, in compliance with the nomination of the crown, and to the same body every officer was responsible for his conduct. Laws and decrees required a vote of two thirds in their favor, before they could be submitted for the signature of the king.

The Spaniards have boasted much of the high character and dignity of the Council of the Indies, and in some cases it would be wrong to deny, that their acts were marked with strict justice and independence. But this concession can be taken only in a very limited extent; it is known that they were not always inflexible in resisting the temptation of gold; they were seldom quick to hear, or prompt to redress, injuries; they suffered an aggrieved party to linger out years in fruitless suits and applications, before they would render justice where it was due. The facts, indeed, that the most revolting abuses and acts of wickedness were daily practised in America, under the eye of this Council, and that the members themselves had held the highest posts in that country, and been in their turn primary agents in committing similar abuses; these facts speak in accents too loud of the real character of the body itself. The Council of the Indies had supreme power; it made such laws as suited its purpose, and could enforce them; all the members were personally and practically acquainted with the existing evils; and while they had this power and this knowledge, and yet suffered the evils to

* The grant of power and jurisdiction runs in the following words.—Es nuestra merced i voluntad, que el dicho Consejo tenga la juridicion suprema de todas nuestras Indias Occidentales, discubiertas, i que se descubrieren, i de los negocios, que de ellas resultaren i dependieren, i para la buena governacion i administracion de justicia pueda ordenar i hacer con consulta nuestra las leyes, pragmaticas, ordenanzas i provisiones generales i particulares, que por tiempo para el bien de aquellas provincias convinieren. *Recopil. de Ley. de las Ind. Lib. II. Tit. II. Ley* 2.

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remain in their full and appalling force, we see no reason why they should not be considered as abetting them to the utmost extent, and as being responsible in the highest degree.

We have very little respect, therefore, for the boasted dignity of this body, and less faith in the purity of its designs and virtue of its deeds. We believe the censure of the Abbé Millot to be perfectly just. 'There are abuses,' says he, 'in all the councils of Spain, and in that of the Indies more than any other; instead of punishing malversations, they support the culpable in proportion to the presents received from them.' Depons, who is commonly judicious, had personal reasons, according to his own account, for bestowing homage on the Council of the Indies, and he complains of this censure as too severe. He forgets a remark of his own, made in another place, namely, that 'it is requisite to be very powerful and very rich to obtain in Spain the punishment of an abuse of power committed in the Spanish Indies.'* Why so much wealth necessary to obtain justice from the persons, whose business it was to render it, or provide for its being rendered, without exorbitant charge, embarrassment, or delay? The answer may be read in the preceding words of Millot.

The laws enacted by this Council, its decisions, judgments, decrees, and grants, multiplied to such a number, that it became necessary, if only for the mere purpose of reference and convenience, to collect them into one work, which was called the Laws of the Indies. In the original it is entitled *Recopilacion de Leyes de los Reynos de las Indias*, and was first published in four volumes folio in the year 1680, as appears by a royal edict prefixed to the first volume, authorising its publication. An improved edition was printed in 1774, by order of the king, after which time we are not aware, that it underwent any change or revision. This was the code by which the Council at Madrid professed to govern the Indies, and the wisdom of which has been highly extolled by Spanish writers. Let us hear what is said of this code by Mr Mendez in the *Biblioteca Americana*, where the writer shows, by the able manner in which he discusses this subject, that he has

* Voyage to the Eastern Part of Terra Firma, on the Spanish Main in South America. Vol. II. pp. 15, 54.

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not only studied the laws of the Indies in their theory and principles, but has contemplated with an observing eye their practical operation and tendency. The work to which we here refer, as containing the remarks of Mr Mendez, is a periodical journal of much merit in the Spanish language, published monthly in London. It is particularly devoted to the cause of South American independence and improvement, embracing subjects in history, general politics and political economy, science, and literature, suited to the reading classes in the new republics. Many of its articles are executed with ability, and some of its historical details are curious, revealing the dark things of colonial servitude, and reflecting much light on the revolutionary doings of the last fifteen years. In his essay concerning the laws of the Indies, published in this journal, Mr Mendez observes that,

'All those, who have known from their own observation, or from the knowledge of unbiassed and well informed persons, in what manner America has been governed since the monstrous usurpation of Spain; and all who have witnessed the bitter complaints of the inhabitants of these oppressed countries, which have been perpetually continued, and with increased justice, in regard to the enormous evils inflicted by the Spanish rulers; all such persons have clearly perceived the inconsistency, disorder, and confusion of the laws, called the *Laws of the Indies*, as well in the administration of justice, as in every other branch of government. Among the Spaniards themselves, those who have been able to shake off ill founded prejudices, or bar the entrance to them by a liberal education, have confessed the gross faults of the Laws of the Indies, and called loudly for a remedy.' *Bibliotec. Amer. Tom. I. p.* 350.

Concerning the compilation noticed above, which is denominated, by way of eminence, the *Laws of the Indies*, the writer adds;

'Among the various persons employed in America, scandalous dissensions perpetually existed, growing out of envy, hatred, and revenge, toward each other. Every one, carried away by his ruling passion, brought the whole weight of the credit and protection, which he enjoyed in the metropolis, to effect his designs. Any species of iniquity was suffered to exist, and met with a ready reception, if it conducted in any manner to the desired triumph of obtaining a favorable decision in a pending suit. Decisions thus obtained, whatever they might be, were given by the organ of the

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ministers, and immediately received the entire force of a law, although they possessed no one of the requisites, which could rightfully invest them with such a character. At length they accumulated to such a mass, that it was deemed necessary to form a collection of the whole. This was approved by the court of Spain, and published under the title of *Recopilacion de Indias.*

'But so far from removing the evils by this measure, nothing more was done than to collect into one body what was before dispersed; the same faults still remained; obsolete laws were revived; and the minister of the Indies continued his former practice of issuing new decrees and orders. The number of these, as well as their inconsistency and irregularity, soon increased beyond those comprised in the collection; many new laws were abrogated by others of later date. Of these latter, such only were brought together as were passed in the reign of Charles the Third, collected, not by the authority of the government, but by the industry of individuals, who omitted vast numbers, that were scattered in different places, and only to be found in manuscripts. It then became impossible for any one to compass them, or to ascertain what laws were in force, and what had gone out of use, which had been wholly or in part repealed, and whether they related to the whole of America, or to some only of the provinces. Don Joseph Galvez, Marquis of Sonora, who was minister of the Indies, and author of the establishment of the *Intendencias* in those dominions, abolished a great number of the laws, which had been compiled, by a single stroke of his absolute authority, in the numerous ordinances issued by him for the *Intendencias* of Mexico and Buenos Ayres; and in regard to those of Venezuela and New Granada, they were at one time compelled to observe the laws of Mexico, and at another the laws of Buenos Ayres.' pp. 351, 352.

This picture of the laws of the Indies has little to excite in us admiration of the code, which goes by that name. Whoever looks into the volumes will find much parade and formality about these laws, pompous preambles and verbose specifications, and now and then a sound principle at bottom. There is no poverty of theoretical wisdom; the deficiency consists in a want of equilibrium between the several parts, and of power in the laws to put in execution the measure of good, which they would seem to intend. Judicious rules of action are prescribed to the authorities in South America, but unfortunately the persons, for whom such rules are designed, are invested by these same laws with a degree of authority, the very nature of which places them above the laws. Nor

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is this the worst. These laws not only put an enormous power into the hands of officers, whom they do not pretend to control, but they provide feeble remedies for the mischiefs, which these persons may commit, without being amenable to the laws. It is an unanswerable argument against the practical wisdom of this code, to say the least, that it did comparatively nothing towards protecting the rights of the colonists, or reforming the abuses which they suffered.

The Spanish possessions in America were for many years governed by two viceroys independent of each other. All the territories in North America were under the dominion of the viceroy of Mexico, and all those in South America were alike subject to the viceroy of Peru. In the year 1718 the viceroyalty of Peru was divided into two parts, by establishing another in New Granada, and in 1778 it was again divided, by erecting the new viceroyalty of Buenos Ayres. The whole Spanish dominions in America at last consisted of four viceroyalties, namely, Mexico, Peru, New Granada, and Buenos Ayres; and of five captain generalships, that is, Yucatan, Guatamala, Venezuela, Chile, and Cuba. The viceroys and captains general were appointed by the Council of the Indies, and after taking possession of his government each was independent of every other authority in America, being responsible for his conduct only to the court of Madrid.

The power of a viceroy, or of a captain general, was nearly as absolute in his own dominions, as that of the king in Spain. He was supreme governor of the civil and municipal concerns, commander in chief of the military forces, and president of the high judicial tribunal. The viceroyalties were divided into provinces, over which governors and military chiefs were appointed by the king, but were subject exclusively to the orders of the viceroy. There were still smaller divisions into departments, or towns, in which resided municipal officers called *Alcaldes*, or magistrates, who, in part, constituted the *Cabildo*, or a body whose business it was to maintain the civil authority within its jurisdiction.

The principal courts of justice were the royal audiences, *Audiencias Reales*, of which there were thirteen in the several provinces, organised on the same principles. In addition to the president, who was the viceroy, or captain general, this audience, or court, was composed of a regent, three judges,

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two fiscals, or attorneys, one for civil and the other for criminal cases, a reporter, and an alguazil, or sheriff. When the audience was held, where the viceroy or captain general did not reside, it was presided over by the highest officer in the province. All decisions were to be approved by the viceroy, or captain general, and when they refused their sanction, the court could do nothing more than represent the case to the Council of the Indies. Causes were commonly first tried by the governors, or magistrates of the inferior departments, but their decision had no weight till it was confirmed by the royal audience, which sometimes instituted a second trial, before it would sanction or annul the sentence of an inferior tribunal. The persons composing the royal audiences were appointed by the king; they were almost without exception natives of Old Spain, possessing very few connexions or sympathies with the inhabitants of the colonies.*

The *Cabildo* was a municipal body erected in almost every town and large village, not with the power of passing laws, but of seeing them put in execution, and of regulating the minor and local affairs of the towns where they were established. Its members consisted of *regidores*, whose offices were bought and sold; of other persons appointed by the king; and of two *alcaldes*, who were annually elected by the *regidores* from among the people. This mode of choosing alcaldes into the cabildo was the only semblance of elective franchise enjoyed in Spanish America. But this was a mere shadow, and operated rather against the people than in their favor. The members of the cabildo were generally Creoles, or natives of the country; and, in imitation of the higher departments of government, great corruption and venality were practised in obtaining the office of regidor, to which was attached the qualification of an elector. Many rich Creoles were tempted to waste vast sums of money, and descend to degrading artifices, to become possessed of the empty honor of a public station, which was almost the only one accessible to their ambition or enterprise. It is thus seen, that this humblest branch of government, the cabildo, in which only the South Americans could have any share or voice, was thrown into hands least worthy of possessing it, and least cal-

* Recopilacion de Leyes de las Indias. Lib. II. Tit. 15.

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culated to act for the public good. It was converted into an instrument to increase the wealth and strengthen the tyranny of the ruling powers of Old Spain.

We have not room to enter at large on the subject of the Spanish colonial system. We aim only to sketch a very brief outline, from which its tendency and evils may be inferred. Nowhere, perhaps, within the same compass, are these set forth with so much force and justice, as in the short essay of Mr Mendez. Two or three passages, bearing directly on this subject, are translated below.

'The civil and criminal tribunals of justice,' says he, 'and the affairs of the revenue and police, suffered such changes and contradictions from decrees and royal ordinances, that no permanent foundation remained on which to rest a remonstrance, complaint, or solicitation. Everything depended on the arbitrary will of the ministers at the court of Madrid, and the Spanish rulers in America. These persons always contrived to aid each other's purposes, and their determinations were mutually formed according to their ideas of a despotic government. The governors of provinces fell into the same abuses, when they acted independently of the metropolis; in their edicts they perpetually ran counter to their own previous resolutions, and revoked those of their predecessors. The tribunals, called *Royal Audiences*, established for the purpose of considering and settling appeals from the sentence of the governors and other judges in civil and criminal cases, were guided in their decisions either by intrigue, caprice, or bribery; for, as they were the highest tribunal, they had nothing to fear from any other power. The multiplicity and inconsistency of the laws and royal ordinances, concerning which no knowledge could be obtained, because they were never published; the construction which could be put upon them without responsibility, and the support which could be easily obtained for any construction, from the authors who had written on judicial matters; all these afforded a covert to the members of the audiences against whatever complaint could be urged.

'Moreover, at every step in the government of America an obstacle was to be encountered in some one of the innumerable charters and privileges of corporate bodies, and the professions in which they abounded; such as the privilege of the clergy, called public, or common, [comun,] and the particular ones of the monks, canons, inquisition, colleges, and universities; the privileges of persons employed in the royal revenue; of the consulate and the commercial board; the general privileges of the military, which were extended also to the militia; and the special privileges of the marine, the engineers, and artillery. The individual, who enjoyed any of

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these privileges, was elevated above the civil authority, and, whether as actor or sufferer, was subject only to the chief of the body to which he belonged, whether in civil or criminal cases. This infinitude of jurisdictions was an inextricable labyrinth, which, by keeping up a ceaseless clashing between the chiefs, in regard to the extent of their powers, stimulated each one to sustain his own authority at all hazards, and with such resoluteness as to employ force to gain this purpose. Justice, and the rights of Americans, were in every case made the inevitable victims of these heated disputes between the Spanish rulers.' p. 353.

After this description the writer may well add, as he does, that the prosperity of America was a thing never meditated in the system by which Spain governed her colonies. To promote the growth and happiness of the New World was not a purpose, which was ever brought within the policy of the Spanish court. The end of every counsel on this subject was, to aggrandise the mother country at the expense of the Indies; to oppress the Americans in every possible manner, and extract from them every possible advantage; to enforce labor, impose slavery, extort tribute, and draw from the sinews and sufferings of an immense population the means of supporting the pride and luxury of a few titled despots, and worthless drones, in Seville and Madrid. This was the policy, the design, the main intent of the whole cumbersome scheme of the Spanish colonial government. Instead of encouraging the progress of a single art or science, instead of quickening a single generous impulse to the moral and intellectual powers, instead of contributing in the remotest degree to the advancement of society, and the useful arts of life, it operated as a blight on the rising energies of moral and social nature, and carried desolation into every region, and gloom into every heart, by the pestilence of a hardened, ruthless, revolting despotism. 'With a conduct like this,' says Mr Mendez, 'as unjust as it was inhuman, the Spaniards succeeded for more than three centuries in keeping the Americans poor, abject, and ignorant.' No one can be surprised, that humanity should rise up against oppression like this, that the voice of suffering justice should cry aloud for redress, and that such a systematic scheme of despotism, however it might smother and subdue the fires of revolution for a time, would in reality be increasing their heat, and preparing them to break out

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with the greater violence, and more certain success, at a future period.*

II. We turn next to the *commercial interests* of the colonies; and here the policy of Old Spain partakes of the same character, as we have found it to bear in the civil and judicial administration. It would be difficult to conceive of a plan more ingeniously devised to discourage industry, repress enterprise, impoverish a country, and demoralise society, than the commercial system adopted towards America. It seems to have aimed at two prominent objects; first, to draw all the wealth of the Indies to the mother country; and, secondly, to throw as many obstacles as possible in the way of the improvement and intelligence of the people by whose labor it was collected. The inventers of this system had wisdom enough to perceive, that the first and main object could only be attained by making sure of the other. They could see no farther; beyond this point cupidity and avarice took all light from their eyes. They were strangers to justice; the wealth of America they thought was only to be seized after a certain form, to make it the lawful property of the king's good subjects at home; this species of plunder was successful; Spain was deluged with the gold of the Indies. But where is she now? Where has she been for the last half century? She has sunk under the inglorious burden of her ill acquired riches, and has nothing left but the consolation of reflecting, that she has been the proud and unprincipled agent of her own degradation.

For many years after the discovery of America, the precious metals were the only articles of commerce, which had attractions for the Spaniards. By violence and treachery they robbed the Mexicans and Peruvians of immense treasures. These wicked gains increased their avarice, and put

* It is also to be remarked, that it was the uniform practice to bestow all offices of importance on natives of Old Spain. The Americans were treated like slaves, unworthy of any share in the government of themselves. The following is stated in the *Manifesto of Independence* by the Buenos Ayrean Congress of 1816. 'All public offices and employments belonged exclusively to the Spaniards, and although the Americans were equally called to them by the laws, they were appointed only in rare instances; and even then, not without satiating the cupidity of the court by enormous sums of money. *Of one hundred and seventy viceroys, that have governed in this country, but four of them have been Americans; and of six hundred and ten captains general, and governors, all but fourteen have been Spaniards.* The same took place in every other post of importance; and even among the common clerks of offices, it was rare to meet with an American.'

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their invention at work to devise the best means of converting all the gold of America to their exclusive benefit. The first step was to shut out other nations from any intercourse with her colonies in the New World, and to forbid the colonists, 'under *penalty of death*, to trade with foreigners on any pretext whatever.'* Such was the intolerable despotism, which marked the fundamental principle of the commercial code. No motives were held out to the industry and enterprise of the colonists; it was the grand feature of Spanish policy to keep down such dangerous symptoms of growing strength and virtue, and to degrade the people under a perpetual sense of their poverty and insignificance. To admit an intercourse with foreigners, it was perceived, would be to encourage a demand for the products of the soil, and to convert the effective labor of the inhabitants into channels profitable to themselves. The mines would languish; they would be shared by other nations; the people would become enlightened, and too soon learn their resources and power. To prevent consequences so much to be deprecated by the high minded statesmen of Spain, this broad feature of exclusion to all foreigners, and death to the trafficing colonist, was planted as the basis of the new commercial system.

Foreign articles were supplied to the colonies from Spain alone, in such quantities and at such prices, as were consistent with her sovereign will and pleasure. Manufactories were prohibited under severe penalties, and many articles of the first necessity for the common uses of life, such as cloths, furniture, and some kinds of provisions, were imported from Spain at an enormous expense to the purchaser, and an equally proportionate gain to the crown in public charges and duties. All imports and exports were conveyed in Spanish bottoms; no colonist could engage in commerce with Europe, or own a vessel in that trade; and even between the different provinces of Spanish America very little commercial interchange was allowed, and this under the most narrow and jealous restrictions. To render the grasping schemes of the mother country more certain and complete, no vessel was suffered to sail for America from any other port than Seville, and every vessel returning was required to enter the same port. This

* Outline of the Revolution in Spanish America. p. 11.

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restriction originated in the jealousy of the Spanish cabinet. Commodities so valuable as gold and silver, it was believed, would present temptations too strong to be entrusted to trading companies under the usual responsibilities. The cargo of every ship, whether returning from a voyage or about to sail, was rigidly inspected by a board at Seville appointed for the purpose. To this city the trade was confined till the year 1720, when it was removed to Cadiz as a more convenient port.

As a farther security to its designs of monopoly, the government required all the commerce of the Indies to be carried on in a few ships specially licensed, and despatched annually in two fleets under convoys, one denominated the *galleons*, and the other the *flota;* both of which were obliged to deposit their cargoes in two ports only, Vera Cruz and Porto Bello. From these points the whole Spanish dominions on the continent of America were supplied with foreign articles, and through these channels alone was there any opening for sending out the produce of the country. The effects of such a course of trade will be readily apprehended. The merchants of Seville, or Cadiz, who enjoyed the exclusive commerce to the Indies, could demand what they pleased for their commodities. They took advantage of the wants of the colonists, and were at one time sparing of their supplies, that the price might be enhanced, and at another they sent goods of poor quality at a price much above their value, because it was known they must be purchased. It was a standing practice to send out European commodities in such scanty measure, as to quicken the competition of purchasers, and command an exorbitant profit. In the most flourishing period of the trade from Seville, the whole amount of shipping employed was less than twenty eight thousand tons, and many of the vessels made no more than annual voyages. A motive on the part of the crown for limiting the supplies was, that the same amount of revenue could be more easily levied, and collected with more certainty and despatch on a small, than on a large amount of goods.

These burdens of the colonies were increased, as the Spanish manufactories declined. The influx of gold and silver into Spain from the Indies had generated a spirit of idleness and luxury, unnerved the sinews of the laboring

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class, and induced them to desist from manual exertions, just in proportion as they could with less labor than before procure the necessaries of life. The rich became less eager to employ capital to advantage, and manage it with thrift, because other sources of wealth were opened to them in the exhaustless mines of Mexico and Peru, from which they could draw without the toil and responsibility of active business. The consequence was, that everything which requires enterprise and action, everything which gives substantial prosperity to a nation, declined in Spain. This was the case in an extraordinary degree with the manufactures, and the Council of the Indies was at length compelled to go to other countries for goods requisite to supply the demand of the South American market. These were obtained in England, Holland; France, and a few in Italy.

The colonies suffered a renewed oppression by this arrangement; all such commodities were required first to be brought to Cadiz, and shipped from that port; here they paid heavy duties and the importer's profit, and again another duty on the reshipment of the goods for America. Thus the crown took care to lose none of the advantage of its old monopoly; it taxed the colonies for its own weakness, and imposed new burdens in proportion to its inability to render them service. According to a *Pro Forma*, exhibited by Mr Walton, the cost of English goods in the South American ports was more than one hundred per cent higher, after passing through the ordeal of Cadiz, than it would have been had they proceeded directly from an English port. This difference was pocketed by the king, as a reward for his ingenuity in preserving the allegiance of the colonies. In addition to all other charges, the Spanish exporter's profit was frequently two hundred per cent, which was drained from the consumers in the Indies, and made to flow into the coffers of the merchants and nobility of Old Spain.

The evils of this system did not end here; it was productive of deeper and more mischievous effects on society and the human character. Under circumstances such as we have enumerated, it was not to be supposed, that the temptations to an illicit trade would be resisted. 'The merchandise of the metropolis,' says Depons, 'arrived so overcharged with duties and expenses, and the colonies of other nations could

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furnish the same articles at such inferior prices, that a profit remained to the contraband trader, which induced him to defy the fiscal laws, and all their agents.'* This same writer gives us a particular account of the contraband trade, the manner in which it was carried on, the measures taken to suppress it, and the encouragement it received from the inhabitants of the provinces, and even from the Spanish officers, who swarmed in the ports, custom houses, and small harbors, under royal orders to search out and suppress this unlawful trade. It is said by Walton, that at least three fourths of all the commerce to the Spanish South American colonies were contraband; the galleons and flota often found the markets forestalled by this species of merchandise; yet the colonists gained comparatively nothing by it; the risk was so great, and the usual demand in bribes by the custom house officers so exorbitant, that the contrabandists fixed their prices nearly on a level with those of the regular trade. The absolute wants of the colonists were more liberally supplied, and thus they derived a positive good, but not from any diminution of price. The contraband was entered into by all nations. The Dutch, French, Portuguese, and English, kept it up from the islands belonging to these respective powers in the West Indies. The famous company of Guipuscoa was instituted in 1728, enjoying extraordinary privileges, with the express purpose of destroying the contraband by affording goods at a cheaper rate. The project failed, and the company itself was at last found engaged with the Dutch at Curaçoa in the very species of trade, which it was pledged to suppress. In short, the custom of many years, strengthened by the increasing demands of the inhabitants, gave a consistency and system to this mode of commerce, which were not to be broken without some essential change in the old restrictive plan.

This was seen too late by those, who were not willing to see it at all; and although attempts at a remedy were reiterated, and one restriction after another taken off, yet the great object of a *free trade*, by which alone the colonies, or any other country, could prosper, was not attained. Register ships were allowed to sail in addition to the periodical fleets, but the licenses were so high, that the price of goods was hardly diminished. Other Spanish ports besides Cadiz were

* Voyage, Vol. II. p. 358.

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opened to the American trade, and even packet ships were permitted to run from Corunna with partial cargoes; but privileges of this sort were granted no longer than the absorbing interests of Old Spain rendered them absolutely necessary, and in every case special care was taken that all the benefits of the ancient odious monopoly in favor of the crown should be preserved.

Even the memorable edict of 1778, which was dignified with the title of the *decree of free trade*, was so much shackled with conditions and restrictions, intended to operate to the entire advantage of Old Spain, that the colonists had little reason to rejoice at this parade of liberal policy in the Council of the Indies, nor to be flattered by the hollow pretence of good will towards them. One fact is enough to set in strong colors the wrongs suffered by the colonists, in all the schemes of commerce devised by the mother country during the three centuries of her domination, which is, that the colonists themselves were never, under any circumstances, allowed to partake in this commerce, either to build or own ships, export their produce, or expend the property of their industry within their own borders, and for their own improvement. No other than this one fact needs be adduced, to prove the studied and protracted insults practised on the inhabitants of the provinces, to the very end of this reign of injustice, and to reveal, as clearly as volumes could unfold them, the causes of resistance to an authority so regardless of the claims of humanity, and so wanton in its sports with the social rights and interests of mankind.

A curious document has recently been published in the third number of the Biblioteca Americana, illustrative of the Spanish colonial policy, as it affected other nations. It consists of an extract from a manuscript work written by a viceroy of Peru, and deposited by him in the public archives of Lima, where it still remains.* In the extract here alluded to, we have the following statement, as recorded by the viceroy. On the 24th of May, 1788, a vessel was seen off the island Juan Fernandes, at the distance of about a league from the shore, entering the harbor apparently in distress.

* The work is entitled '*Relacion que hace el escelentisimo Sr. D. Teodoro de Croix, virei que fué de estos Reinos del Perú i Chile a su sucesor el escelentisimo señor Fr. D. Francisco Jil de Lemos, desde 4 de Abril de* 1784, *hasta 2 de Marzo de* 1790.

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The governor of the island, Don Blas Gonzales, immediately despatched a small boat with an officer and four men, to ascertain the condition of the vessel, and the purposes of the commander. Report was brought back, that the vessel was from Boston, in the United States, that she had encountered tempestuous weather in doubling Cape Horn, was much damaged in her masts and rigging, and that the captain desired permission to anchor in the harbor, till he could refit and procure a supply of water and wood. This permission was granted by the governor, and after the vessel was anchored the captain went on shore, and said his name was John Kendrick, and that his ship was the Columbia of Boston.

The account further states, that the captain presented ship's papers, which were from the *republic of Boston*, and a recommendatory passport from the French Consul in that republic, [pasaportes que decia ser de la república bostonesa, i uno recomendaticio del cónsul de Francia en aquella república,] and said he was bound on a voyage to the Russian settlements beyond California. The governor was perplexed at the novelty of his situation, as no vessel under similar circumstances had ever before been in those seas, and not knowing in what light it would be regarded by the Spanish government. He finally inclined to the side of hospitality, and gave permission for the vessel to remain six days in the harbor, forbidding any of the crew to go on shore, except to land at the beach and take such articles, as were brought to that place by his own people. By reason of unfavorable weather, and adverse winds, the Columbia was detained thirteen days. When she went to sea the captain expressed a desire to the governor, that the Washington, which had sailed in company with him from Boston, but from which he had lately parted, might experience the same hospitality, when she should arrive in that port, where it had been agreed they should meet in case of a separation.*

* The Columbia and Washington were the first vessels which sailed from the United States on a voyage to the North West Coast. The Washington was commanded by captain Robert Grey, who was afterwards the first navigator, that entered the Columbia river.

In the year 1783, the celebrated John Ledyard, immediately after his return from Cook's last voyage round the world, made strenuous exertions to induce the merchants of New York and Philadelphia to send a trading vessel to the North West Coast. He had been there with Cook, and was well acquainted

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Meantime the governor had taken copies of captain Kendrick's papers, and he sent them, with a circumstantial account of the whole affair, to the viceroy of Peru. This officer applied to the attorney general for advice in so strange a case; the laws of the Indies were turned over from beginning to end, and royal ordinances and decrees were found in abundance, which condemned in the severest terms the conduct of the unfortunate governor of Juan Fernandes, whose ignorance had betrayed him into such unlawful acts of humanity and kindness. A vessel was sent forthwith from Lima, under express orders to detain the Boston vessels, should they have returned to the island, and bearing the viceroy's mandates to the governor, signifying high displeasure at his treacherous service of the king in suffering a foreign vessel to sail from that port, when it was his duty to seize both the vessel and crew. The viceroy furthermore expressed his astonishment, that the governor of an island should be ignorant, that every foreign vessel which navigated those seas without a license from the Spanish court, *ought to be treated as an enemy*, although the nation to which it belonged was *an ally*.* This position he professed to confirm by citations from the laws. He entered largely into the subject, discussing various points of law, and at last laying it down as a rule, that no foreign vessel, without a Spanish license, ought under any pretence whatever to anchor in the ports of that coast, and in case such an event should happen, every measure should be used, which sagacity, art, or prudence, could suggest, to seize the vessel and crew, and detain them on the spot, till information should be given to the governor of the province, and his will be known. And in regard to the United States, as they had taken it upon themselves to set up a new government of their own, they had no claims on any

with the facilities, which then existed for giving success to such an enterprise. His plan was approved by Mr Robert Morris, who at one time made considerable advances towards putting it in execution; but it was delayed, and finally given up. Ledyard went shortly afterwards to Paris, where he passed six months in a fruitless negotiation with Paul Jones to engage with him in the same undertaking.

* Estrañándose que el gobernador de una isla ignorase, que á toda embarcacion estranjera que surque estos mares sin licencia de nuestra corte, se la debe tratar como enemiga, aunque la nacion a que corresponda sea nuestra aliada, conforme a la real cédula de 25 de Noviembre de 1692. *La Bibliotec. Amer. Tom. I. p.* 359.

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grounds, that their vessels should receive protection or assistance.

Such was the Spanish colonial system, as it acted on foreign nations, even allies of the Spanish crown, no more than thirty six years ago, and as it continued, if we mistake not, several years later. In truth, from the time of captain Kendrick's voyage, till the commencement of the revolutionary movements, when England and the United States began to send public armed vessels into the Pacific to protect their commerce, the colonial laws in regard to foreigners were used for little else, than a covert for treachery, fraud, and plunder. The record of seizures, and informal condemnations, in the courts of Lima, would afford a most revolting picture of human depravity, and disclose deeds of corruption and infamy of the darkest die, perpetrated behind the ramparts of the laws. These things were known to the Council of the Indies, they were known to the king; and the very offices, which yielded these prolific fruits of wickedness, were bestowed on the highest favorites of royalty. The Abbé de Pradt was undoubtedly right in ascribing one of the primary causes of the revolution to a commercial system, so wretchedly defective in its principles, and so wickedly perverted in its administration.

III. It has been justly observed by Herera, that the king of Spain contributed almost nothing towards the conquests, which put the immense countries of South America into his hands. These were acquired by the bravery, hazard, and too often the cruelty, of his subjects. Yet he was ready enough to seize and appropriate all he could grasp; nor were the advantages of exclusive trade adequate to satisfy the cravings of his ambition and avarice. He imposed *exactions* in all the shapes of *duties*, *taxes*, and *tithes*, more numerous and complicated, more oppressive and iniquitous, than we have at present the heart or the space to unfold. A few only of the more prominent will be mentioned.

Not among the least of these was the *Alcavala*, an exaction levied on sales and purchases, extending even to the smallest transactions in the daily intercourse of life. Every species of merchandise, whenever it passed from one owner to another, was subject to a new tax; and merchants, shopkeepers, and small dealers, were obliged to report the amount of their purchases and sales, and testify to the same under oath. If

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a man sold his farm, his cattle, or produce, this tax was exacted. And so in regard to most of the provisions sold in market, such as vegetables, eggs, poultry, and other necessaries of life. Retailers usually compounded for the tax by the year, or for a stipulated time. Ecclesiastics, paupers, and travellers, were exempt from the *alcavala*.* Besides the vexations attending the operation of such a tax, its effect must have been to discourage barter and local enterprise, which are so essential to activity in business, and a prosperous community. The *alcavala* originated in Old Spain during the wars against the Moors, and was granted to defray the expenses of those wars. It was limited to three years, but was afterwards extended; and against all the principles of equitable government, it was entailed as an eternal inheritance on the Spanish provinces in South America.†

It is evident that the *alcavala* alone must have enormously increased the price of foreign merchandise, which was carried far into the interior, by raising its value every time it passed into new hands. This was further increased by transit duties, which were demanded at certain places through which the goods were transported; so much so, that Arispe is reported to have affirmed, in his memoir on the internal provinces of New Spain, that European articles were taxed thirty times before they found their way to the town of his residence. There was the *Almoxarifazgo*, or duty collected on entering the goods in port;‡ and there were the *Armada* and *Arma-*

* Iglesias, monasterios, prelados, i clerigos—gente pobre, i caminantes. *Recop. de Ley. Lib. VIII. Tit.* 13. *Ley.* 17, 19.

† From the *ley primera* of the statutes concerning the *Alcavala*, as it now stands in the Laws of the Indies, it seems this grievance was introduced very early into the American provinces. New regulations were established by Charles Second, in the beginning of which he seems conscious of the injustice of such a measure, and pleads, as an awkward apology, the *antiquity of the alcavala*, the favor in which it had been held by the kings of Castile, and the example of his predecessor, Philip Second, [nuestro glorioso progénitor] as if there was ever a king, who was not in favor of levying as many taxes as the people would bear. Charles observes, La alcavala es un derecho tan antiguo, i justificado de los reyes de Castilla, como es notorio, i por esta razon debido en los reynos de las Indias, desde el tiempo que se hizo la incorporacion de los unos con los otros, &c.—And these same reasons he seems to consider abundantly satisfactory for continuing the imposition, and making a code of nearly sixty laws for carrying it into effect. *Recopilacion, Lib. VIII. Tit.* 13. *De las Alcav.*

‡ There are no less than fifty three statutes in the *Laws of the Indies* concerning the *Almoxarifazgo*, and the numberless kinds of duties collected under this general name. *Recop. de Ley. de Ind. Lib. VIII. Tit.* 15. *Ley*, 1, *et seqq.*—*Tit.* 16. *Ley*, 1.

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dilla, taxes imposed on merchandise for the purpose of maintaining a naval force to protect the coasts and harbors against pirates ; and these taxes became perpetual, although the pirates dwindled away, and the naval force was in a great measure withdrawn. Duties, in addition to all these, were levied to support the officers of the consulate and custom house department.

The king reserved to himself, in the form of a duty, one fifth of all the gold and silver produced in the colonies. Tobacco, salt, and gunpowder were royal monopolies, and also quicksilver, a vast quantity of which was used in working the mines. Great profits were derived to the king from the sale of offices, both ecclesiastical and civil ; and these profits varied in proportion to the salaries attached to the offices. In some cases the crown demanded a year's salary, to be paid in advance, and in others a smaller amount paid by instalments. We here discover the secret of the multitude and short duration of these offices, and of the cruel extortions practised by the persons holding them. The king received a revenue from stamped paper, on which all agreements, and transactions in business, both of a private and public nature, were required to be written. This paper was imported from Spain, very wretched in quality, and exorbitant in price. The stamps were of four kinds, each having a different value, from six dollars to one sixteenth of a dollar a sheet. In some of the legal instruments and judicial records, all of which were exceedingly long and complicated in the Spanish courts, it was necessary to use paper of the highest rate. In others a poorer quality was allowed, but here, if they were long, the first sheet was obliged to be of the best quality and of the highest price. Such was the vigilance with which every corner was penetrated to draw out money to enrich the king.* We

* The law concerning stamped paper, *Papel Sellado*, was passed as early as 1638, and was held in force during the Spanish dominion in South America. The act is long and circumstantial, describing minutely the qualities of the different paper to be used, the kind of instruments and writings, which should require a particular quality, and fixing the prices to each. It extends to all the Spanish dominions in the new world, *which have been, or shall be discovered*, and ordains, No se pueda hacer, ni escrivir escritura, ni instrumento publico, ni otros despatchos, si no fueren en papel sellado, con uno de quatro sellos, que para ello hemos mandado hacer, con la forma, diversidad, i calidades expressados en ella. *Recop. de Ley. Lib. VIII. Tit.* 23. *Ley.* 18.

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may add in this place, also, that a pole tax of five dollars a head on every Indian was collected into the royal treasury.

But the most extraordinary imposition in the whole catalogue, was the tax levied through the instrumentality of the church, which practised on the credulity, corrupted the morals, and degraded the character of the people, at the same time it picked their pockets. As long ago as the time of the crusades, bulls were granted by the Pope to certain Spaniards allowing dispensations for the zeal they displayed in exterminating the infidels, and as an inducement to perseverance in so pious a work. Custom, which establishes everything, brought these bulls into general use, and for many ages they have been palmed on the people in Spain, ignorant and wise, as possessing a virtue and a power, which could only come from heaven. And, as if to fix the last seal of degradation on the Americans, these precious devices of superstition and crime were scattered profusely over the whole extent of the New World, and there employed, by alarming the religious fears of the people on the one hand, and encouraging their vices on the other, to wring from them the little that remained after the torturing engine of taxation had done its heaviest work.

The bulls were issued every two years, sent over to America from Spain, and sold out by the priests under the direction of a commissary, appointed to superintend this branch of the revenue. They were of four kinds. 1. The *bull for the living*, or *Bula de Cruzada*, so called because it has some traditionary connexion with the bulls of the crusades. It was deemed essential for every person to possess this bull, and its virtues were innumerable. Whoever purchased it might be absolved from all crimes, except heresy, by any priest; and even of heresy he could never be suspected with this shield to protect him. On fast days he might eat anything but meat, and on other days he was exempted from many of the rigorous injunctions of the church. Two of these bulls, if they had been paid for, communicated double the benefits of one.*

* The Laws of the Indies do not profess to determine the virtues of the *Bula de Cruzada;* they prescribe with great formality in what manner they shall be sold, and the revenue secured. The *Comissario de la Cruzada* possessed considerable authority independent of the viceroy. *Recop. de Ley. Lib. I. Tit.* 20.

Solorzano presents us with much curious information concerning the *Bula de Cruzada,* and says the reason why it was extended to two years, instead of

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2. The bull for *eating milk and eggs* during lent. This was intended only for ecclesiastics, and persons not holding the first, which entitled the possessor to all the advantages of both. 3. The *bull of the dead, Bula de Defuntos*, which was indispensible to rescue departed souls from purgatory. It was bought by the relations of a deceased person, as soon as possible after death ; and poor people were thrown into agonies of grief and lamentation, if they were not able to purchase this passport for the spirit of a relative suffering the miseries of purgatory. 4. The *bull of composition*, which released persons, who had stolen goods, from the obligation to restore them to the owner. One slight condition, it is true, was attached to this bull, which was, that the person when stealing had not been moved thereto by any forethought of the virtue of a bull to make the property his own, and his conscience white. Bating this small condition, the bull converted all stolen goods into the true and lawful property of the thief. It had the power, moreover, to correct the moral offences of false weights and measures, tricks and fraud in trade, and, in short, all those little obliquities of principle and conduct, to which swindlers resort to rob honest people of their possessions. 'It assures the purchaser,' says Depons, 'the absolute property in whatever he may obtain by modes, that ought to have conducted him to the gallows.' The price of these bulls depended on the amount of goods stolen ; but it is just to add, that only fifty of them could be taken by the same person in a year.

The price of the *bula de cruzada* was fixed by the commissary, and varied according to the quality of the purchasers. In the mandate of the commissary general for the year 1801, he says, 'the price is a little raised, but it is on account of the new expenses of government, and of the necessity of extinguishing the royal certificates, which the scarcity of money

one as in Spain, was the difficulty of sending them to the remote provinces in South America in so short a time ; and if no more than one year were allowed, their virtue would be destroyed before they could be received by the people. Some of the Spanish writers complained that this was an undue indulgence, and that the revenue suffered by it. Solorzano thinks otherwise, as by shortening the time, the sales would be much diminished in the interior, where the bulls would arrive too late. Besides, he says the plan of retaining the virtue in the bulls for two years was sanctioned by Pope Gregory the Thirteenth, as early as 1578. *Politica Indiana, compuesta por el S. D. J. Solorzano i Pereyra. Lib. IV. Cap.* 25.

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in a time of war has compelled the king to issue.' At that time a viceroy paid fifteen dollars, and other persons of wealth and distinction paid five. If any man practised deception in this matter, and bought a bull at a lower rate than his rank or property demanded, the bull was without virtue, and the purchaser had the comfort of reflecting, that he had defrauded himself, and thrown away his money. Such a deception was seldom known, even where the amount of a man's property had escaped the scrutiny of the officers, and no sources of the revenue were more certain and productive, than this scandalous traffic in scraps of brown paper. It must be remembered, that these bulls were available for two years only, and then the people were again to be plundered by this infamous juggling artifice to stir up their passions and interests, and even to quicken their crimes, where this could be done with a better prospect of grasping their money. But this league of the powers of darkness is fast dissolving; religion could not be mocked, nor justice outraged any longer; and if the revolution had done no other thing, than relieve the minds of sixteen millions of people from a thraldom so barbarous and debasing, the deed would of itself be a good reward for the sacrifices and sufferings thus far endured by the South Americans in gaining their independence.*

IV. The *ecclesiastical hierarchy* in South America was one of peculiar construction; for although it acknowledged nominal submission to the Pope, it was in reality independent of him and subject only to the king of Spain, as its supreme head. This power was unwittingly put out of the hands of the papal see, by the famous bull of Pope Alexander the Sixth to Ferdinand and Isabella, in the year 1593, in which his Holiness was so obliging as to divide the world in twain by a line drawn through a certain point from pole to pole, [un linea desde el polo artico al polo antartico,] and bestow on these Spanish sovereigns and their successors forever all right, title, and dominion over the countries at that time discovered, or which at any future period should be discovered, beyond the said line. This piece of kindness in the Pope

* Pazos draws a vivid picture of the operation of this traffic in bulls, and of the evils growing out of it, as felt in his native province of La Paz, and other parts of the interior of Peru. *Letters on the United Provinces of South America, pp.* 88—99.

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was taken in its fullest latitude, and, by the liberal construction of the kings of Spain, it made their jurisdiction absolute in civil, political, and ecclesiastical concerns. This jurisdiction, granted as they say, *por bulas de los sumos pontifices de su proprio motu*, they have always retained and exercised, notwithstanding some ineffectual endeavors on the part of the see of Rome to recover the ecclesiastical power. In truth the Popes never had any authority in South America, nor could they communicate directly with the bishops, except in a few unimportant cases.

Everything emanated from the king. Even the Pope's bulls and dispensations were obliged first to be transmitted to the Council of the Indies, and sanctioned by that body before they could be sent to America. In the appointment of archbishops and bishops the Pope enjoyed the empty privilege of nomination, but the appointments were made from the highest to the lowest offices by the king. All the ecclesiastical revenues went to him; nor could a cathedral, or even village church be erected, without his special license.* This patronage was of immense importance; it enabled the crown to concert every measure in the best possible way for controlling the people, and bending them to the great purpose always in view, that of draining gold and silver from the Indies. The salaries of the bishops depended on the tithes, and were therefore fluctuating. The average salary of the bishop of Havana was eighty thousand dollars; that of the archbishop of La Plata, at Charcas, sixty five thousand; and the bishop of Caracas some years received seventy thousand. In Mexico, Peru, and Chile the church was very rich, and the poorest bishoprics in the country yielded from five thousand to twenty thousand dollars a year.† The host of inferior clergy was innumerable, and for the most part every ecclesiastic was liberally paid. The king received the first year's salary of all the officers in the church.

The ecclesiastical tribunals had a wide jurisdiction, reaching to all concerns of a spiritual nature, to the regulation of

* The law on this subject is very pointed. Mandamos, que no se erija, instituya, funde ni constituya iglesia catedral ni parroquial, monesterio, hospital, iglesia votiva, ni otro lugar pio ni religioso sin licencia expressa nuestra. *Recop. Lib. I. Tit. VI. Ley.* 2.

† Walton's Spanish Colonies, Vol. II. p. 4. Pazos says, that three bishops in Peru, and four in Rio de La Plata, including the archbishop, each received an annual income varying from 40 to 60,000 dollars. *Letters, p.* 84.

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the monasteries and priests, donations and legacies to the church, tithes, marriages, and the like. The inquisition was also established in America, with nearly the same powers and privileges as in Spain. As heresy was not among the besetting sins of the South American colonists, this body seems to have had little to do in pursuing those, who had erred *in delictis contra fidem*, the object for which it was originally professed to be instituted. So potent a council could not be idle, however, and it sought importance chiefly by the vigilance with which it guarded against the inroads of knowledge, and the zeal with which it drew closer and closer the veil of ignorance over the minds of the people. To this topic we shall revert in another place.

No more than a very imperfect notion can be formed of the influence of the church establishment in South America, from the written statutes and regulations by which it was governed. The best laws may be abused, and will be abused, where there is not a stern and efficient power to put them in execution. To those parts of the laws of the Indies, which relate to the church, little can be objected considering the nature of the establishment. Their main defect is a want of appropriateness. They are explicit enough as to the public duties of the church offices, the modes of government, external regulations of churches and monasteries, collecting tithes, and taking care of the revenues; but they are nearly silent on things the most essential to secure to the people faithful, pious, and devoted religious teachers and pastors.* The laws come not down to these particulars; and from these alone, as displayed in the character and conduct of the clergy, can we judge of the actual tendency of the church establishment in the Spanish provinces, and of the gross abuses that were practised in defiance of its laws and its discipline. As illustrative of this subject, we will select two or three paragraphs from the letters of Mr Pazos, who was a native of the country, and grew up from infancy amidst the scenes he describes. He is speaking of the *Curas*, whose duty it was to teach the Indians, and the more ignorant classes of the people, and each of whom received a salary of

* Recopilacion de Ley. de Ind. Lib. I. Tit. 1. De la Santa Fé Catolica.—Tit. 2. De las Iglesias.—Tit. 6. De los Arzobispos, Obispos, i Visitadores.—Tit. 10. De los Jueces Eclesiasticos.

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not less than four thousand dollars. In this class of clergymen, if anywhere, we ought to expect faithful teachers. Look at the picture exhibited by this writer.

'Among the *Curas* are many Europeans and others, who do not understand the Peruvian language, and who procure their parishes by the recommendation of the Viceroy, or some Spanish chief. Although the canon law requires that the parish priests shall understand the language, and reason certainly demands the same thing, still his Majesty dispenses with that knowledge in the qualifications of the *Curas*, and there are therefore preachers and hearers who cannot understand each other! It is sufficient for the *Cura*, if his hearers understand these words, *Obvencion kollkata appamoonkeechoo?*—"Have you brought the money of the *obvenciones?*" The *obvenciones* are one of the modes of obtaining money, which is practised under the Roman religion. They include benedictions, masses, festivities of Christ, of the Virgin, and the Saints, processions, marriages, funerals, and souls in purgatory. The *Curas* and friars inculcate, with the most ardent zeal, the doing of good works here, in order to be happy hereafter. These good works consist in the festivities before mentioned, and saying masses. Every mass costs two dollars; if chaunted, the price is double. At Buenos Ayres it is but one dollar. There is a royal tariff, *Arencel de Derechos*, which regulates the rates of these religious exercises.

'The Indians, although ignorant of the principles of this religion, join in these festivities with great alacrity. They principally consist in masses chaunted with music, before the patron Saint. The chaunters and musicians are Indians, who perform their parts with much skill, being excellent musicians, and chaunting Latin from memory without understanding a word. At the time of mass, the Indian stands before the altar, covered with an old cloth belonging to the Virgin or the Saint, holding a flag in his hand; and at the end of the ceremony, the priest, covering the Indian's head with his mantle, says over him the beginning of the Evangelist of St John—"In principio, &c." This ceremony brings the Cura from 25 to 100 dollars, according to the dignity of the Saints, and the solemnity of the mass.' pp. 86, 87.

After speaking of the festive ceremonies and processions in the streets, dancing, mirth, and drinking, in all of which the 'Indian believes he is performing an acceptable service to his God,' the author proceeds as follows.

'Besides the festivities in honor of the Saints in heaven, there are others for souls in purgatory. The second of November in

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every year is the day appointed by the Romish Church for that festivity. On that day hundreds of monks and priests innundate all the cities, villages, towns, and country chapels, in search of *responsos*, which are "Pater nosters," said to liberate souls from purgatory. This service, which occupies but a moment, costs six pence, and although the price is so trifling, it is a source of large income to the priests, as the people universally order *responsos* for their deceased relatives and friends.' p. 88.

'From their religious festivities I now pass to their funerals. The tax levied upon these solemnities is most painful to the Indians, and the most barbarous avarice is displayed in its action. The sum which the Indian is obliged to pay is in proportion to his wealth, varying from $5 to $100. His property is narrowly investigated, and the violence of oppression unites to aggravate the afflictions of a man who has lost a father, a brother, or a wife. I have seen the poor Indian weep till his heart was well nigh broken at the levying of this unjust contribution. But the European Curas, whose hearts are harder than the gold they covet, turn a deaf ear to the wailing of the widow, whose children are taken from her to pay this tax. A religion so abused, and transformed into a systematic mode of thieving and robbery, is a calamity more dreadful than a pestilence.' p. 91, 92.

Such are the perversions countenanced under the religious system, which we have been describing. The laws and written rules of the church, it is quite certain, encouraged no such wicked abuses; but neither did they prevent them. Here was the root of the evil, and it was deep and strong. The establishment was majestic and imposing in its outward forms; its machinery was perfect, so far as it gave universal patronage to the king, and filled his purse with gold. This end it attained, and this was all. The spiritual guides of the people were the worst enemies to their peace and happiness; precept and example conspired to scatter poison in the hearts of the unsuspecting, to corrupt the springs of good principle, and extinguish the light of moral truth. It would be uncharitable to suppose, that there were not good men in the South American church in the days of its worst condition; nay, history records the names of those, who have been bright ornaments of their profession and of human nature. But this fact only adds darkness to the system itself, which raised such a torrent of iniquity, that wise and virtuous bishops, armed with all the power of the church, could not check nor turn it aside. Let the practical influence of this system, and

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its positive effects on the mind, moral sense, affections, social feelings, and religious principles of the people, be considered, and we doubt whether a spectacle more gloomy could be presented to the philanthropist, or the friend of human improvement and happiness.

V. In affording the means of *education* to the South American provinces, the Spanish cabinet was guided by the same policy as in every other branch of its administration. All the avenues to knowledge were closed, except just as far as it was the interest of the mother country to have them opened. Physicians, lawyers, clergymen, curates, and other officers of a subordinate rank, were essential to the existence of society; and especially were great numbers required in the professions of law and divinity to support the kind of government imposed on the colonies. These men must be educated after some sort, to qualify them for the offices they were to hold; but the jealous fear, that they might learn too much, prohibited them from going over to Old Spain for this purpose, and, as the least of two evils, it was thought expedient to give them the means of a suitable education at home.

In the Laws of the Indies is an ordinance, dated 1551, authorising two Universities to be established, one at Mexico, and the other at Lima.* Numerous laws were passed regulating the government of these institutions, and putting them under the control of the viceroys, bishops, and other ecclesiastics. Similar establishments, though with inferior privileges, were afterwards opened by royal permission at Bogotá, Quito, Cuzco, Charcas, Cordova, Santiago, and several other places,

*A curious trait runs through all the laws of the Indies, and that is, the extreme affection, which the king professes to have for his loving subjects in America, and his ardent desire to legislate for their happiness and prosperity. These professions never figure more, than in the introduction to a statute laying on some new tax or restriction The habit was so strong, as even to run into the ordinance for the Universities, where this flourish is so ostentatious and glaring, as almost to become ludicrous, and one would think it could hardly have failed to open the eyes of the South Americans themselves. He assures them, that he was moved to so noble and benevolent a design, as that of founding the Universities, by his special love, and by his desire to honor and favor the Indies, and what is more marvellous than all, to *dispel from them the darkness of ignorance*. Por el mucho amor i voluntad, que tenemos de honrar i favorecer á los de nuestras Indias, i desterrar de ellas las tinnieblas de la ignorancia, &c. *Recop. de Ley. Lib. I. Tit.* 22. *Ley.* 1. This was quite too much even for a king to say, in the full face of all the other institutions of government, whose direct purpose was to collect and thicken the darkness of ignorance, till no ray of light could pass through it.

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some of which were called universities, and others colleges. The branches taught, and the books read, were the same from age to age; none of the improvements in modern science, nor the treasures in literature, were attained by the students, or even known by the professors. The monastic darkness of the twelfth century hung over all the universities and colleges in South America, down to the very beginning of the revolution. 'It was forbidden,' says the Buenos Ayrean Manifesto above cited, 'to teach us the liberal sciences; we were only permitted to learn the Latin grammar, the philosophy of the schools, civil and ecclesiastical jurisprudence.'* In the year 1678 a college was founded at Caracas, which was afterwards raised to a university, and which, with the college and Latin schools appended to it, was usually furnished with ten or twelve professors. The manner in which these teachers were employed is thus described.

'Three professors teach enough of Latin to read mass, Aristotle's Physics, and the philosophy of Scotus, which still prevailed at this school in 1808. A professor of anatomy demonstrates anatomy, explains the laws of animal life, the art of curing, &c. on a skeleton and some preparations in wax. Five professors are occupied in teaching theology and the canon law. One only, the most learned of course, is employed to defend the doctrine of St Thomas on the immaculate conception against all heretics, and no diploma can be obtained without having sworn to a sincere belief in this revered dogma. The university has also a professor, who teaches the Roman laws, the Castilian laws, the laws of the Indies, and all other laws. A professor of vocal church music forms part of this hierarchy of instruction, and teaches to the students of law and medicine, as well as to those of theology, to sing in time and harmony the airs of the Roman ritual.'†

This is probably a fair specimen of the mode of instruction in all the universities and colleges. It corresponds

* In the year 1796 a school was established at Buenos Ayres, for the purpose of educating the youth of that place in mathematical and nautical studies. It was successful beyond what was expected, and promised to be of essential service to the country. But in the midst of its prosperity, a royal order came from Madrid commanding it to be abolished, and adding the bitter and insulting declaration, *that an acquaintance with the mathematics, and a cultivation of the arts, were not suited to America;*—asegurando que los conocimientos matematicos, i el cultivo de las artes de gusto, no eran para la America. *Vida i Memorias del Dr. Dn. Mariano Moreno, p.* 22.

† Colombia; being a Geographical, Statistical, Agricultural, Commercial, Political Account of that Country. Vol. I. p. 96.

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with that described by Pazos, as existing at Cordova and Charcas.

In the university of Mexico some attention was paid to the mathematics and natural sciences, because the mining interest of New Spain rendered a knowledge of these branches highly important in accomplishing the designs of the government; and Humboldt speaks with great respect of the scientific attainments of some persons in the mineralogical department of that university. And after all, the universities and colleges were meant for no other purpose, than to promote the despotic schemes of the court of Spain. No provision was made for enlightening the community at large, by founding schools for children, or communicating in any manner the first elements of education. No books were circulated, no teachers employed, no money granted. It is asserted in the Report to the Congress of Colombia last year, on the interior state of the country, that 'the Spanish government in three hundred years did not endow a single school,'* and there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of the assertion. It redounds much to the honor of this new republic, and is at the same time a test of the wisdom of its rulers, and a pledge of the success of the government, that a very marked attention has been given to this subject, as well in the constitution and laws, as in the practical administration of the rulers to whom the political concerns of the country have thus far been entrusted. Primary schools are organising in every province, city, and village, as fast as the means and condition of the people will permit.†

The hostility of the Spanish cabinet to every symptom of liberal improvement in the colonies, was remarkably manifested in particular instances, as well as in the uniform tenor of her policy. When the city of Merida in Venezuela petitioned for a university, the answer returned by the Fiscal was, that the petition could not be granted, 'because it was unsuita-

* Memoria que el Secretario de Estado, i del Despacho del Interior presentó al Congreso de Colombia, sobre los Negocios de su Departamento. Bogotá. 1823. p. 26.

† Cuerpo de Leyes de la Republica de Colombia. Tom. I. p. 18, 67—78. From the report of the Secretary of Foreign Affairs and of the Home Department in Mexico, read to the Constituent Congress, Nov. 8, 1823, it appears that the government of that country, under all its embarrassments, is giving much attention to the establishment of primary schools and colleges.

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ble to promote learning in Spanish America, where the inhabitants appeared destined by nature to work the mines.'* And it is worthy of remark, that, during the last century of Spanish domination, hardly a new college was founded. Printing presses were not admitted, except under such restrictions as to prevent their having any agency in diffusing general information. Down to the end of the eighteenth century, we believe there were but three presses in all Spanish America, one at Mexico, one at Lima, and the other at Cordova, which belonged to the Jesuits, and was afterwards transferred to Buenos Ayres. These presses were intended only for the use of the government in multiplying copies of royal decrees and mandates, and the orders of the viceroys to be sent to subordinate officers in the distant and scattered provinces. They were not employed to increase the number of books in aid of literature or education. The first printing press in Chile was established in 1811, by three citizens of the United States, who carried it out from New York, and sold it to the Patriots.* The inhabitants of Caracas repeatedly petitioned the Council of the Indies for the privilege of a printing establishment, but their request was never granted. Presses have been multiplied since the revolution, and newspapers published in every part of the continent, and they have doubtless had great influence in preparing the Patriots for the measure of success, which has already attended their endeavors in setting up new forms of government, and in directing to practicable ends the wisdom of their counsels, and power of their arms.

But the obstacle to the intellectual progress of South America, which was the most intolerable, because the most degrading of all, was the tribunal of the *Holy* Inquisition. This body possessed and exercised absolute authority in regulating the police of books; it could forbid the printing, publishing, or circulating of any book whatever; and no brotherhood ever executed its work with more vigilance or rigor. Books entered at the custom house could not be released, till they had been examined by the commissary of the Inquisition, and his consent granted; every bookseller was obliged to have a catalogue of all proscribed books, and he incurred a heavy

* Outline, &c. p. 21. † Judge Bland's Report, p. 106.

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penalty by selling one of this description. Once a year every bookseller was bound to furnish the Inquisition a catalogue of the books he had on sale. The members of this fraternity could enter private apartments, at such times and in such manner as they chose, in search of books, and if a prohibited book was found, they could seize it, and inflict a penalty on the possessor.

The list of proscribed books presents a spectacle at once curious and humiliating; curious, from the principles on which the Inquisition seemed to act in forming the selection, and humiliating, as a testimony of the abject intellectual condition of an age or community, which could endure such a tyranny over mind and nature. The works of Luther, Calvin, Vattel, Montesquieu, Puffendorf, Fenelon, Addison, Robertson, and numerous others, who have been shining lights in the world, were among those, which it was a crime for a South American to read, or have in his possession. In Europe, where the springs of knowledge are so abundant, and the streams so strong, as to resist every obstacle, such a proscription has been felt but in a limited degree; but in South America, where books were not allowed to be published, and where the laws of prohibition were so easily executed, it became almost a total check to the progress of knowledge.

There is a statute in the Laws of the Indies, which commands the viceroys, governors, and other officers, to use all necessary diligence in searching for books prohibited, *conforme à los Expurgatorios de la Santa Inquisicion*, and, should any such be found, to deliver them to the archbishops, bishops, or other members of the Inquisition. Orders were likewise issued to the clergy, that they should search out and procure in every possible way, *por todas las vias possibles*, any book of this sort, which might be within the limits of their respective districts, and consign them over to this tribunal.* The viceroys and governors were also forbidden to give license for publishing any book, whatever might be its character or subject, which had not first been examined and approved by the Holy Office.†

* Recop. de Ley. de Ind. Lib. I. Tit. 24. *De los Libros que se imprimen i passan a las Indias, Ley.* 7.

† Ibid. Ley. 15. One of the first political acts of the Colombian Republic was to abolish the Inquisition, and appropriate its revenues to public

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This jealousy of the Spanish government continued till the last, and the severity of its absurd attempts to stop the progress of intelligence seemed to be redoubled, as time and circumstances drew things to a crisis, which gave cause for new alarms. As late as the year 1804, a public vessel was despatched from Havana to Baltimore, with orders to take home fifteen or twenty young men, natives of South America, who were at that time students in the Catholic seminary of St Mary's in Baltimore.* Such was the fear, that the seeds of liberal principles might gain admittance into a soil, which it had been the chief purpose of a great nation for many ages to disgrace with servitude, and desolate with plunder.

VI. It remains only to speak of the *condition of the Indians* in South America, under the Spanish colonial government. The gold, which the first discoverers carried back to Spain, dazzled the eyes and raised the hopes of many adventurous spirits, who eagerly hastened to gather up the riches of the Indies. When they landed in the New World, however, they found no houses nor cultivated lands there; and what added more to their disappointment, they made the discovery, that the gold and silver, which had kindled visions so bright in their fancy, were hidden far away in the bowels of the earth, and could only be disinterred, wrought, and refined, by immense labor. To aid in their projects of building cities, and collecting the precious metals, a royal decree was passed appropriating to them the services of the Indians; and, indeed, the Spanish court made no scruple of regarding the Indians in the same light as the beasts and the soil, disposing of them as the rightful property of the crown; for it was not till 1537, nearly fifty years after the first discovery, that the Pope issued a mandate declaring them to be really and truly men, *ipsos veros homines*, and capable of receiving the Christian faith.

When lands were granted to an adventurer, a certain number of Indians was assigned to him, whose services he could

purposes. The preamble to the act states it to be 'one of the first of duties to preserve in its entire purity the catholic, apostolic, and Roman religion,' and concludes, 'it is *therefore decreed*, that the tribunal of the Inquisition is forever abolished.' Se estingue para siempre el tribunal de la inquisicion, llamado tambien *santo officio;* jamas podrá restablecerse, i sus bienes i rentas se aplicaran al aumento de los fondos públicos. *Cuerpo de Ley.* p. 79.

* Brackenridge's Voyage to South America, vol. I. p. 47.

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command, and who were in reality his slaves. These appropriations of Indians were designed as rewards to the first settlers, whose enterprise contributed to the establishment and prosperity of the new colonies. All the Indians, who had been brought under subjection, either by force or conciliatory measures, were divided into companies or departments, and the Indians constituting one of these were assigned for a stated time to a settler, who, during that period, could compel them to work for him two months in a year, and exact heavy tribute for the other ten. At the expiration of the stipulated time, they became again the property of the king, and were either consigned on the same terms to some other individual, or compelled by the governor to labor on the public works.

This species of servitude was enforced with such severity on the Indians, that within half a century after the discovery by Columbus, they had dwindled away so rapidly as to excite a serious alarm, that they would become extinct, and the Spaniards be deprived of their labor. As a temporary remedy other tribes were conquered, and the Spanish dominion extended over a wider space; but the enormities increased so much, and the sufferings of the Indians were so shocking to humanity, as to touch the hearts of some of the Spaniards themselves, and move them to apply earnestly to the king for his interposing hand. The person, who engaged with the warmest zeal in behalf of these unhappy victims of avarice and cruelty, was the bold and benevolent Las Casas, bishop of Chiapa, who had visited the New World with his father, in one of the voyages of Columbus, and who afterwards resided there forty years, the unwavering friend of the Indians. He appeared in person before Charles the Fifth, to plead their cause, and represented the inhumanity of the treatment they received.

An attempt was made to thwart his noble purposes by Sepulveda, historiographer to the king, who wrote what has been very justly called a 'profligate treatise' to vindicate the murders and cruelties of the Spaniards, by arguments drawn from the Scriptures, and especially the example of the Israelites toward the inhabitants of Canaan. Las Casas was triumphant, however, as he well might be, in supporting such a cause against such a vindication, and in the year 1542, he prevailed on Charles to add very important amendments to

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the laws of the Indies in favor of the natives, and to issue severe edicts against the cruelty of the Spaniards. But custom had gone too far to admit of much change; decrees, meditated and proclaimed in the Escurial, were not likely to be executed four thousand miles off in the wilds of America, and by the persons themselves, whose conduct these very laws condemned. The Indians continued to be enslaved, and, notwithstanding the mild laws of Charles, which still hold a conspicuous place in the *Recopilacion*, their condition appears not to have been improved, except in proportion as the circumstances of the times, and the interests of the colonists, dictated a more lenient policy.

It was ordained by the above mentioned laws of Charles the Fifth, that the Indians should no longer be reckoned as slaves to the conquerors, but as vassals to the king, and subject to regulations imposed only by him. But these were sufficiently oppressive, and were the foundation of others laying heavier restraints, allowing a greater latitude to abuses, and continuing in force till the time of the revolution. A capitation tax was levied on every Indian between the age of eighteen and fifty, which was exacted with rigor, and which, considering the poverty and improvident habits of the Indians, frequently operated upon them with exceeding severity. The amount of this tax varied at different times and places; at first it was about four dollars annually, but according to Mr Pazos, it was latterly in Peru from seven to fifteen dollars. The Indians were likewise obliged to labor on all public works, which the governor might choose to say would contribute to the benefit of the community, such as cultivating the soil, tending cattle, constructing roads, bridges, and public edifices. And when this service was enjoined in the laws, it is easy to imagine to what extent the power of enforcing it would naturally be abused, and how much would be extracted by private cupidity under pretence of promoting a public benefit.*

But the most cruel and inhuman service exacted of the Indians was the *Mita*, first introduced, according to Solor-

* The subject of the *personal services* of the Indians is treated at great length, and with immense learning, by Solorzano, in his *Politica Indiana, Lib. II.* The same subject occupies a large space in the Laws of the Indies. *Recop. Lib. VI. Tit.* 12.

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zano, on the opening of the mines of Potosi in the year 1545, and brought into a methodical system thirty years after by Toledo, a viceroy of Peru. Under this barbarous system, every Indian, in several of the provinces of Upper and Lower Peru, was obliged to work in the mines, for the period of one year and a half, between the age of eighteen and fifty. The persons designed for this service were selected by a kind of conscription, which caused them all to go in their turn ; but not more than one seventh part of the inhabitants of a particular district could be drafted at the same time. The service continued for one year, when the conscripts were released, and a new draft of one seventh was made for the next year ; thus each individual of the proper age passed every seventh year in the mines. He was required, when there, to labor only one week in three, and by this arrangement the amount of eighteen months' labor was performed by him, in the several conscriptions which occurred between the age of eighteen and fifty.

Such was the ancient theory of the *mita*, and as a theory nothing could be more oppressive or unjust. But in practice it was cruel in the extreme. It might seem at first, that the allowance of two weeks' rest after a week's labor was a mark of kindness or indulgence. No such thing was intended ; the interest of the miners was at the bottom of the whole ; they knew the labor was so severe, and in situations so prejudicial to health, that the laborers would all be destroyed, if they were not allowed these alternate periods of rest to recruit their debilitated frames. And, even as it was, great numbers died in the mines.

Changes gradually took place in the economy of the *mita*, and each change made still more deplorable the condition of the Indians. The stated weeks of rest were abolished, the means of living curtailed, and the unhappy conscripts went out to the mountains to suffer and die. The following description, which may be considered as presenting an accurate view of the *mita* in modern times, we translate from the *Ensayo de la Historia civil del Paraguay, Buenos Ayres, i Tucuman*, by Dr Funes of Cordova. This work was published in Buenos Ayres, in 1817, and bears strong testimony to the talents, fidelity, and liberal spirit of its venerable author. His information was from the highest sources, and he communicates

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it with a feeling and earnestness, which prove that he has not been indifferent to the wrongs inflicted by this horrible outrage on the rights, liberty, and lives of a large and defenceless portion of the human race. The passage, which we are about to translate, is contained in the introductory chapter to the author's admirable narrative of the revolution of Tupac Amaru. In speaking of the causes of that revolution, he says,

'The peninsular government, and those who have come from that government, have heretofore taken bold and systematic strides in vice without shame, and in crime without restraint. Driven away by their cruel avarice, they introduced the *mita* into the mines, a new discovery of the most profound wickedness. This word signifies nothing else, than a species of annual conscription, by which a great number of free men were condemned to the violent and noxious labor of the mines.

'The *mita* extended to Cuzco, a distance of nearly three hundred leagues, requiring every province to supply its contingent of men according to the prescribed rules. Those to be selected for this destiny were decided by lot, and after the lot was cast, the slender means of the unfortunate victims were scarcely adequate to support the expenses of the journey, and they were obliged either to leave their families in wretchedness, or to make them the companions of their journey, that they might perish together. If no calamity is more terrible to the Indians, than that of being removed from their homes, where death will separate their ashes from those of their ancestors, with what emotion would the lot of the *mita* be received, when looked upon by all as the sentence of death? This was the situation in which they called their friends and relatives together to mingle with them their tears, and by silencing reason with funereal songs, to procure some mitigation to the acuteness of their feelings. It will be no hyperbole to say, that, in such a state of servitude, it was a day of sorrow to the Indians, when nature gave them a son.

'After the conscripts were collected at the place of their service, then at least ought the rule to have found a place in regard to the just measure of the time of the *mita*, the hours of labor, competent wages, and punctual pay, and, in short, those offices of humanity, which their miserable condition required. But was this moderation to be hoped from those, who put no bounds to their desires? Their transgression in each one of the above particulars was most criminal and flagrant. And when the example was once set, the abuses multiplied and gained force.' Vol. III. p. 243.

Such is the picture given by Dr Funes of the sufferings of the Indians destined to the conscription of the *mita*, and these

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sufferings were increased tenfold after they arrived at the mines. The greater part of them were obliged to work alternately, either the whole day or night, in the depths of subterraneous caverns, excavating the metals, or bearing burdens of such weight as to exhaust their strength, and rapidly enfeeble their constitutions. They were only permitted to leave the mines during Sunday, and were obliged to sleep on the ground, and subsist on the coarsest kinds of food. The pestilential atmosphere of the mines poisoned them with disease, and this, together with their excessive fatigue, the changes from the suffocating vapors of the caverns to the cold piercing air of the mountains, their hard fare, and deprivation of sleep, soon exhausted their spirits and their frames, and brought them rapidly to the grave. Dr Funes says it was well ascertained, that not one tenth part of the conscripts returned from these terrible scenes of suffering to their homes; and he well observes, that the *mitas* were no other than a contrivance to disinter metals by interring men; *con las mitas se pretendia desenterrar metales enterrando hombres.* Their pay was fixed in early times at half a dollar a day, but latterly provisions had become so high, compared with the value of money, that their wages did not amount to enough to procure them the necessary comforts of life. One third of this was reserved, under pretence of affording them the means of returning home. The consequence was, that they were obliged to run in debt to the miners, who in the end took all their money, and frequently held them in servitude beyond the termination of the *mita* to pay arrearages. We believe there is not in the history of the world, among nations civilised or uncivilised, an instance of an abuse of power so wicked, and of such an unprincipled and tyrannical trampling of the strong on the natural rights and moral feelings of the weak, as the system of conscription and death thus practised against the Indians in Peru.*

* Dr Funes complains of the Spanish Academy for being guilty of what he considers a wilful misrepresentation in defining the word *Mita.* This Academy says, it is '-a selection made by lot in the villages of the Indians, drawing out a certain number of those living in the same neighborhood to be employed in the public works.' *Un repartimiento que se hace por sorteo en los pueblos de Indios para sacar el número correspondiente de vecinos, que deben emplearse en los trabajos públicos.* From this definition it is remarked, that the public works mentioned would be understood to be those of general utility, such as roads,

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Another grievance was suffered by the Indians, which, if its enormity was fraught with less horror than that of the *mita*, was not in itself less insulting or intolerable. This was the *repartimiento* of the *corregidores*, or magistrates of a town or district. It consisted in obliging the Indians to buy such goods, and at such prices, as the owner should dictate. This practice had its origin in the privilege granted immediately after the conquest to the *corregidores*, by which they were permitted to monopolise certain kinds of merchandise, the prices and quantity of which were fixed by law. The privilege was abused, like every other granted to the Spaniards in South America, and at last these trafficing magistrates filled the villages with goods, collected from the refuse of storehouses in the cities, and forced them on the natives without regard to their wants, tastes, or means of purchasing. If an Indian had money, which the magistrate could not grasp under any pretence of an official demand, he took care to bring it all into his purse by inducing the Indian, either by compulsion, artifice, or fraud, to purchase his worthless merchandise. Gross impositions were daily practised; the Indians were forced to receive what they did not want, that they might be indulged with the favor of taking what their necessities required. These useless articles were commonly returned to the magistrate, who bought them at a reduced price, and again sold them out as at first; and thus, although

bridges, or causeways, whereas *mita* means nothing more nor less than the odious conscription for the mines.

The following particulars from Solorzano throw some light on the subject of the *Mitas*, and the rich mines of Potosi. He says that, under Toledo's arrangement in 1575, the 17 provinces in which the *mita* took place, contained 95,000 Indians suitable for this service. At this period, 4500 worked every day in the mines. In the year 1633, the number subject to the *mita* had decreased to 25,000, and in 1685 it was no more than 2829. But in the year 1688 the viceroy of Peru took in several other provinces, and made out a new organisation, increasing the number of *mita* Indians to 33,423, of which 57 companies of 50 Indians each worked daily in the mines. From this time the number decreased. At one period the condition was allowed to an Indian to redeem his time of *mita* service, by paying three dollars a week, and the expenses of travelling for another person, who should take his place.

Solorzano estimates the former riches of the mines of Potosi by the returns of the *royal fifths* into the government treasury. From the time the mines began to be wrought, in 1545, till the year 1704, being a period of 159 years, the whole amount received in *royal fifths* was 314 *millions of dollars*, current money. Hence the entire product of the mines during that period was 1570 *millions of dollars*. Of this amount more than one third was produced within the first 20 years, that is, from 1545 to 1564. *Politica Indiana, Lib. II. Cap.* 18.

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they were worth nothing, they served to cheat and rob the Indians for the guilty advantage of the ruthless plunderers, who were set over them as guardians of justice, and the protectors of their lives, peace, rights, and property. Let it be added, also, that the Indians could make no sale, nor enter into any contract, above a certain amount, without the consent of these same mercenary officers.

We have now finished our design of tracing a brief sketch of the principles and operation of the Spanish colonial policy in South America. An outline is all at which we have aimed, and yet we have made such demands on the patience of our readers, that we shall spare them the task of listening to other remarks, which we had contemplated, respecting the tendency of this system to work its own ruin, and hasten the day of change and retribution. This forbearance we exercise with the less regret, inasmuch as the results to which we had come must be perfectly obvious to any person, who looks at no other, than the comparatively small number of facts recorded in the preceding pages. By no one, not as much infatuated as were the first conquerors of the New World, or as much degraded as those whom they oppressed, could it be imagined, that such a scheme of torture, and tyranny, and plunder, could become perpetual. When human nature shall be totally changed, the principles of social union inverted, the common ties of affection and fellow feeling broken and dissolved, and the instinctive desire of selfpreservation and happiness, which is the basis of all government, shall be eradicated, then, and not before, may the patrons of so barbarous an engine of human suffering not despair of reducing under its unceasing action a community of thinking, rational beings.

There have been attempts to palliate the crimes perpetrated in the Indies, by hiding them in the brightness of the boasted wisdom and lenity of the laws. To us this would seem only to increase their enormity. It is acknowledged, that laws enough, and more than enough, were passed, and that royal decrees and ordinances were sent out on all occasions, and with great formality, by the Council of the Indies, under pretence of restraining abuses in America. But who does not know that the abuses still continued? To pass mild and humane laws, which no one ever thought of executing, was an insult to the oppressed, instead of being an evidence of the

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magnanimity or mercy of the law makers. Whatever praise the laws may claim for their abstract wisdom, and here we should beg to be more penurious than prodigal, it is obvious that in the same degree do they manifest the hypocrisy and sinister motives of the persons, whose duty it was not only to frame laws, but to see them put in execution. Dr Funes has said, with perfect justice, that the 'publicity with which the robbers in America made a display of their plunder before the eyes of the peninsular government, and the largesses continually received by the members of that government, are proofs incontestible of their being accomplices.' The more and milder the laws, the more frequent were the opportunities of receiving bribes for the privilege of transgressing them with impunity. In short, the scheme of oppression practised in Old Spain on the colonies in America, under the name of government, exhibits little else than a conspiracy of vice, power, and interest, against justice and good faith, liberty and happiness, and almost every other right and principle, which give dignity to character, and value to existence.

The influence of this power could not but decay, from the radical and incurable defects of the foundation on which it was raised. The same process was hastened by other causes, growing necessarily out of circumstances. While the old Spaniards constituted the chief part of the effective population, as they did for many years, they submitted willingly to a government instituted in the country to which their associations and attachments were confined. But time gradually changed the aspect of things; a new race sprung up, natives of the soil, and knowing the land of their ancestors only as a distant region, which took from them their liberty and treasures, without supplying them with anything in return but oppressors, exacters, and taxgatherers. Institutions, habits, customs, relationships, were formed, to which their prejudices were chained, and which drew tighter and tighter the cords of sympathy around their hearts. The power of Old Spain was every day weakened, in proportion as these ties of nature and climate, of home and national partiality acquired strength. There was not, there could not be, any common bond between the rulers and the ruled, no generous sentiments of solicitude and paternal regard on the one part, not a particle of love or reverence on the other. This was the course of nature, ne-

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cessary in itself, and irresistible in its progress. That it has been so slow may justly excite our wonder, but that it can ever be reverted by the arm of man, whether clad in the panoply of despotism, or the habiliments of persuasion, it would be as childish to believe, as criminal to hope.

The events, which are yet to await the new republics, before they settle down into well organised governments, we forbear to predict; yet the justice of their cause, and the manner in which it has been, for the most part, maintained by them, leave no room for a doubt as to their ultimate triumph and success. They will be shackled and embarrassed with the remnants of ancient institutions; they have the hard task before them of building new edifices on the ruins of old ones, without being able wholly to remove the rubbish, and plant solid foundations at the bottom. Even the new constitution of Mexico, promulgated within the present year, not only declares the Catholic religion to be that of the nation, but *prohibits the exercise of any other.** It is to be hoped, that the enormous intolerance of this article finds some compromise in securing the powerful interest of the clergy. In this same country, also, and up to this very year, considerable revenue has continued to be raised by the sales of bulls of indulgences; and, what is a still greater bar to public prosperity, the old oppressive *alcavala* is enforced. It may be thought advisable, perhaps, to resort to these means of revenue to which the people are accustomed, while the sources of supply are so few and precarious. Abuses have existed so long, that they have become a habit, with which the people would not part if they could, although they are among the heaviest stumblingblocks in the way of liberal and enlightened institutions. For these abuses the republics are in no manner responsible; they must be treated with indulgence, and be removed by a gentle hand, as time and experience shall loosen their hold on the minds and prejudices of the people.

The notion, that the southern provinces, which have declared themselves independent, are not in a condition to

* The article referred to is contained in the new constitution adopted by the Congress in Mexico, January 31, 1824, under the title, *Acta Constitutiva de la Federacion Mexicana.* The language of the article is as follows.

La religion de la nacion Mexicana es i será perpetuamente la católica, apostólica, romana. La nacion la proteje por leyes sábias i justas, i prohibe el ejercicio de cualquiera otra. *Act. Constit. Art.* 4.

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admit republican forms of government, we hold to be preposterous. They have been degraded, it is true, but not to that degree, which takes away the power of governing themselves; nor have we much faith in the political creed, which teaches, that in any state of society a greater amount of happiness is secured to the people by a self constituted despotism, call it an absolute, a limited, a constitutional monarchy, or what you will, than by a government of their own choice and participation. This is a doctrine equally at war with human nature and the first principles of every social compact, and fit only for the few, whose ambition inspires them with the hope of being the active instruments of their own chimerical theory. It was a doctrine highly applauded by Iterbide, when, out of compassion for the low state of the Mexicans, he kindly suffered the imperial crown to be placed on his head; but his short lived tyranny was a severe comment on this dogma of his creed, and a plain indication of the sense of the people on this subject. It is a doctrine most pleasing, no doubt, to every tyrant, not only in South America, but in the whole world, and this is proof enough, if there were no other, that it is a false and pernicious doctrine.

That one mode of government is better than another, under given circumstances, we shall not deny, but in all cases the people, who are to be governed, are the only proper judges; and moreover, they will in the end judge right. They may commit mistakes at first, and set out in a wrong path, but their own experience will bring them back with much more certainty, and with much more happiness to themselves, than any application of tried forms, imposed on abstract reasonings as to what they can bear, and the manner in which they are to be led in one direction and driven in another. There never was a nation, which might not be entrusted with its own liberties, and which was not the best guardian of its own fortunes, nor do we believe there ever will be one. We have perfect confidence, therefore, in the internal resources of the South American republics, moral as well as physical, and not only concede to them the right of being independent, and the arbiters of their own destiny, but exult in the arduous and honorable achievements, which they have already attained.

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ART. XI.—1. *The Wilderness, or Braddock's Times. A Tale of the West.* 2 vols. 12mo. New York. 1823.

2. *The Spectre of the Forest, or Annals of the Housatonic. A New England Romance.* 2 vols. 12mo. New York. 1823.

IT has been a question seriously agitated among our cisatlantic literati, even at so late a period as since the publication of this journal, whether America did or did not afford sufficient materials for a new and peculiar historical romance; yet now, so prolific are we in this species of production, that the reader who keeps pace with the outpourings of the press, and studies all the wonderful works, that are daily coming forth with the lofty pretensions of *American novels*, must have some industry and a great deal of patriotism. There are those among us, perhaps, who may be curious to know what constitutes the *Americanism* of an American novel. Many persons have doubtless been so far deluded as to imagine, that the peculiarities of such a work are mere *fac similes* of the peculiarities of the country, and consist in strong graphic delineations of its bold and beautiful scenery, and of its men and manners, as they really exist, or have at some time existed. They might look to see, perhaps, from the hand of a master, something of our lakes, rivers, and cataracts; something of our autumnal woods and skies, so beautiful and peculiar; something of our rich and rapid summer vegetation, outstripping the tardy growth of more equal climes; or the sudden desolation of our winter tempests. And in regard to the human beings who animate the soil, they would possibly expect to find the familiar manners, habits, and dialects of those immediately about them.

It is with the honest view of correcting such erroneous impressions, that we have taken leave to refer to the works named at the head of our article, as containing all the elements of an American novel, so far as we have been able to digest them from the mass of writings, (always making exceptions enough to prove the rule,) which have appeared under that lofty appellation. By casting an eye over these pages, it will be seen at a glance, that the art of writing an American novel, is neither more nor less, than the art of describing under

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American names such scenes as are in no respect American, peopling them with adventurers from all quarters of the globe, except America, with a native or two here and there, acting as no American ever acts, and talking a language which, on the other side of the water, may pass for American, simply because it is not English. Thus the chief *dramatis personæ* of the Wilderness are a Scotch Irishman, (by which we mean an Irishman who talks Scotch,) and his wife, with their sons and daughters; an American Irishman, (by which we mean an Irishman born in America,) with an Irish Irishman, (by which we mean Paddy himself,) for his servant; a sort of mad Indian, who turns out to be a Frenchified Scotchman; together with General Washington, and a few other mere nondescripts. The plot is carried on by means of the wars of the last century between the French and English settlers of our western wilderness, and the loves of General Washington, who plays the double part of Romeo among the ladies, and Alexander the Great among the Indians, with signal success.

That we may not be astonished at the Scotch Irishman, we are informed in the outset, that the Presbyterians of Ulster are little more or less than Lowlanders in manners and dialect. Of this class is Gilbert Frazier, who marries Miss Nelly M'Clean, and comforts her, as they are taking their last look at the promontory of Inishowen, on their way to America, 'by half whispering and half singing in her ear' the following exquisite specimen of Scotch Irish poetry, translated into what passes, we suppose, for *American* English.

> 'We need not grieve now, our friends to leave now,
> For Erin's fields we again shall see,
> But first a lady in Pennsylvania,
> My dear, remember thou art to be.'

Arrived in America, Gilbert sets himself down on the Juniata. Thence he is soon routed by the Indians, who make prisoners of the whole settlement. Some are burnt, and others run the gauntlet. Gilbert was selected for the latter exercise; a favor for which he found he was indebted to a French officer, who had enlisted in the Indian service, and who had taken a fancy to Mrs Nelly Frazier, as a fit attendant on his wife, then lying at the royal wigwam of Queen

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Aliquippa. This good lady dies in the act of giving birth to the heroine of the piece, and her husband thereupon runs mad into the woods.

Gilbert meanwhile had built him a log cabin, not far from the wigwam, at the junction of Turtle Creek with the Monongahela; and there brought up, or to speak more appropriately, *raised*, the Frenchman's daughter as his own, in company with Miss Nancy and Messieurs Paddy and Archy Frazier. In process of time Paddy providentially breaks a leg, by which means the reader is made acquainted with Tonnaleuka, a very remarkable Indian, supposed to be a prophet, and also somewhat of a chirurgeon. In this latter capacity he first introduces himself to the family, and afterwards, being conversant with all arts, sciences, and tongues, becomes the tutor of the little Maria, who is thus educated as a first rate heroine.

Being provided with a heroine, the next thing to be furnished is a suitable hero. For this purpose, the American Irish gentleman, Mr Charles Adderly, whose father emigrated from the same part of the Emerald Isle as did Gilbert Frazier, leads an expedition of the Ohio Company into the wilderness, and establishes himself near the present site of Pittsburgh. Here he has a desperate fight with the Indians, and slays one of their chief warriors in single combat; but is taken prisoner, and rescued from death only by the sudden arrival of Tonnaleuka with a special mandate from Maneto *in favorem vitæ*. The next step is to conduct him to Frazier's cottage, and there, of course, the hero and the heroine fall in love. However, let it not be imagined that this little arrangement became a settled thing between the parties, with any undue precipitancy on the part of the heroine. So far from it the hero might not to this day have been relieved from the torture of suspense, or the horror of despair, had not the father of the warrior, whom he slew in battle, pitched upon the fortunate moment when he was in the act of declaring himself in due form at the feet of his mistress, to pop at him from behind a bush, break his right arm with the ball, throw him upon his back, grapple his throat with one hand, and brandish the fatal tomahawk over his head with the other, and then hold him a talk of some length in choice Indian. This he does, doubtless, with the benevolent view of giving Mr Paddy

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Frazier, who was hidden all the while behind another bush, rifle in hand, full leisure to get a good aim; whereby the reader is agreeably surprised with finding

> 'The *man* recovered of the bite,
> The *dog* it was that died;'

for just as the tomahawk was in the act of descending, a bullet from Paddy's rifle pierces the savage's brain. Upon this the heroine swoons, recovers, falls into the hero's arms, or rather arm, since he had but one whole one left, and pours out her heart upon the spot.

But it is high time to introduce another hero, who acts a most conspicuous part in the progress of the tale. Upon Mr Adderly's return to Philadelphia, for the purpose of giving an account of himself to the Ohio Company, the Governor of Virginia despatches Mr George Washington, who is spoken of as 'a very respectable looking young man,' on an embassy to the French governor at Fort Le Bœuf, to demand an explanation of the recent outrages committed by his people, or by the Indians at their instigation, against the British settlers. Not long after, as the heroine and Miss Nancy Frazier were one day sitting under a tree together, as romantically as possible, Miss Nancy listening, and Miss Maria reading, 'with a tenderness and pathos of manner, which showed that her whole soul was enwrapt with the delightful strains in which the poet of the Seasons has told his sweetest tale.'

'Maria had just pronounced the following exquisite lines;

> "He saw her charming, but he saw not half
> The charms her downcast modesty concealed."

When Nancy, happening to direct her attention a little to one side, perceived a white man' (the reader should bear it in mind that Washington was a white man) 'leaning against a tree, scarce two yards distant. She immediately started to her feet in surprise, crying out—

'"Oh, Maria, here is a white stranger."

'Maria arose, considerably startled, and the stranger approached, with mildness, benevolence, and admiration strongly expressed in his countenance.

'"Ladies!" said he, "I must ask pardon for my delay in addressing you. But how could I interrupt the noble exercise, the refined enjoyment in which I found you engaged! And in such a place too—so unexpectedly! I have traversed the wilderness nearly two hundred miles without seeing a white woman; and

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here to discover such as you, and so employed! Ladies—forgive me, if I say my delight is equal to my astonishment!"' Vol. I. p. 217.

After the mutual astonishment of the white man and the two white women had in some measure subsided, the former is introduced into Frazier's house, where we have an opportunity of seeing him partake of 'cakes and metheglin,' entirely against his own inclination, and merely to gratify the ladies. Such was the natural gallantry of Washington's disposition!

'When he was seated with Maria and Nancy in Gilbert's little parlor, and some light refreshment placed before him, until a more substantial meal could be prepared, Maria observing that he scarcely tasted any thing—

'"Mr Washington," said she, "I should have expected that traversing the woods would have quickened the appetite more than it seems to have done with you. I wish you would use [?] some of this fare. It is indeed rustic, but you will make allowance for it, being the produce of the Wilderness."

'"I shall eat, since it will gratify you," he replied, "although I confess I have no appetite just now. Yet think not, Miss Frazier, that it is because these cakes and that metheglin are disagreeable to my taste, that I use them sparingly. No, the choicest viands of city luxury could not be more grateful to me. Ah! I feel, believe me I do, that the very heart of the Wilderness can produce attractions equal, nay, let me say superior, to any I have yet met with in society."

'"Sir," said Maria, "there must be a refinement in society, arising from a thousand opportunities and advantages enabling the people to cultivate it, that we do not possess here; nor can it be expected that we should. What means, what instructions, what examples, either to infuse and culture taste, or afford the means of its gratification, can we enjoy among nations of savages, whose only object is to prowl the Wilderness, in search of prey, or alas! too frequently, in search of revenge."

'"And yet," said Washington, "in this very Wilderness, it appears, forgive me for saying it Miss Frazier, but it is truth; that you have been taught both to relish and discriminate with a truer taste, and sounder judgment, the refinements of life, than the majority of even those women in society, who have had the advantages of the best tuition. I have met with none of them who could have read with more apparent feeling and enjoyment, than you did to day, the delightful tale of the lovely, the modest Lavinia, who, like yourself, was the child of seclusion; and who, like yourself, possessed as much, perhaps more real taste and refinement, than if she had been brought up in courts. I must confess, Miss Frazier,

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that from my first perusal of Lavinia's tale, which was in my boyhood, I have been more enamoured of the idea my fancy formed of her attractions and virtues, than I ever was with those of any other woman; and until—"

'He was here interrupted by the arrival of his party.' Vol. I. pp. 221—223.

We must pass over Mr Washington's expedition to Fort Le Bœuf, his numerous hairbreadth scapes by flood and field, his political discussions with the Frenchmen, his wise talks with the Indians, and his amatory dialogues with Maria; who, heroine like, takes the best possible care to throw no discouragement in the way of a pure and disinterested passion, although she had no idea whatever of returning it. We hasten to the parting scene, in which our readers may see with what sort of baggage Washington usually provided himself when he travelled among the Indians.

'Just before Washington set off, he seized a favorable occasion for a short private interview with Maria.

'"Miss Frazier!" said he, "I must now bid you farewell for a time. Permit me, before I depart, to present you with a small volume of poems, one of which is with me, next to some of the passages of your admired Thomson, the most favorite piece of poetry in our language. This copy has for many months past been my constant companion. Its author was one who was greatly enamoured of that sylvan seclusion which you here enjoy in such perfection. He was also one who keenly felt, and sweetly described the tenderest and sweetest of all passions. I have marked with a pencil those passages of my favorite poem, which I shall often recall to mind when at a distance from you; and oh! may I request that, for my sake, you will frequently read them. They will depict to you the feelings which, until I see you again, will strongly agitate this bosom. Farewell! and may heaven protect you from all dangers!" So saying, he pressed her hand gently, and departed.' Vol. I. p. 277.

In the next page the author tells us, that

'The book which Washington left with our heroine was a handsomely bound copy of Shenstone's poems; and the passages he had marked for her attention, she found in that most tender and simple of all poetical effusions the Pastoral Ballad!' *Quod vide.*

Mr Charles Adderly revisits the wilderness with a new party of settlers; is again made prisoner; again rescued by the sage Tonnaleuka, and secreted in a cave, which seems to

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have been contrived on purpose, with a moveable tree for a trap door, in the neighborhood of Frazier's cottage. During his concealment, a wedding takes place at the cottage, not, as our readers might imagine, between him and the heroine, but between Miss Nancy and Dr Kilbreath, one of Adderly's followers, whose perilous adventures we had wholly forgotten to relate, and whom we are now induced to notice not so much for his own merits, as for the sake of introducing our readers once more to the agreeable society of Mr Washington. A priest had been procured at the neighboring fort to perform the ceremony ; the French officers and their ladies were invited guests ; and Mr Washington having again strolled across the wilderness fortunately happened to come in at the same juncture. This enables our author to exhibit him in a new attitude. The marriage party being mightily exhilirated by all the good cheer of the wilderness,

'An inclination for dancing soon became the consequence of this overflowing of the spirits ; and, as Paddy possessed a violin, and both Vanbraam and he were tolerable performers, the strings were soon screwed to their proper pitch, and away went the merry Frenchmen to the regions of airiness and joy.

'After becoming somewhat relieved and composed by this first irregular and rather violent explosion of their bounding spirits, they proposed a more civilized and rational set of dances, in which the ladies should bear a part. A regular cotillon was soon got up, for which Mr Washington had the good fortune to secure Maria as his partner!' Vol. II. pp. 57, 58.

As there is nothing our author hits off with such a happy *coup de pinceau* as the prominent traits of Washington's character, we are sure we cannot do him, or our readers, better justice, than by giving them a sample of that great man's talent at light and elegant conversation, during the intervals of the cotillons ; which, by the way, seem to have been introduced into Ohio much earlier than we were aware of.

'"I think, Mr Washington," said he, "that it is in your power to afford us another agreeable day like this, by giving Monsieur d'Abbeville another job. Suppose you detain us for tomorrow. By my faith, we will take it as a great kindness."

'"There is nothing more remote from my power at present, I assure you, sir," replied Washington. "I cannot see how you could have fallen upon such a conjecture."

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'"No conjecture," returned Joncaire, "could be more natural. Who could look at that young lady without admiration? By heavens! if I were a young fellow like you, I could not—nay, pardon me—as it is, I cannot—and my wife says that she feels the same sentiment towards you. Upon honor, Mr Washington, if I did not see that you are otherwise engaged, I should become jealous of you. See that leering dame of a wife of mine, she cannot keep her eyes off you."

'"It is yourself, sir, I perceive, that she is looking at," observed Washington, following the direction of the lady's eyes. "But will you not hurt her feelings by the levity of these observations?"

'"No, no," returned the other, "she's too cunning a puss for that. Besides, you may be easy, sir, and speak freely; for curse the word of what we say will she understand."

'An idea of retorting upon Joncaire, at least of diverting the conversation from its original topic, now occurred to Washington. "If she is so partial to me," said he, "as you mention, you may really bless your stars that you secured her before I saw her, for positively, if she were not the property of another, I should try to make her my own."

'"Ha! ha!" exclaimed the lighthearted Frenchman, "there for you now! I knew she had hit you with her sharp glances, Mr Washington, although you alleged that she had cast them at me. By heavens! sir, you perceive that her eyes are like the quills of a porcupine."

'"That is a strange comparison," returned Washington. "I rather think they are like the stars in the firmament."

'"Ha! sir, you are too sublime for me." Here they were interrupted by De Vamploise, who wished them to engage in another dance.' Vol. II. pp. 59, 60.

The next morning poor Washington seems to have found himself in much the same state of feeling with the unfortunate Frenchman, who, being in strange water, was determined that he *would* drown, and nobody *should* help him.

'"Alas!" thought he, as he walked out on the margin of Turtle-creek, "if this most lovely of created beings refuses my love, how wretched I shall be! My heart destitute and forlorn, *shall* bleed at the desolation of its hopes; but it *shall* be still more miserable at the thought of the troubles and dangers with which, if she will not leave this Wilderness, she will soon be surrounded. War! shocking and barbarous war with savages, will ere long penetrate to these wilds; and Maria, oh, Maria! how I delight to name thee!—Oh, how wilt thou escape its fury! But I will urge, I will entreat, I will implore thee to fly with me while there is yet time,

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while thou art yet safe, and before the coming tempest bursts around thee. Oh, with what eagerness I should march in the ranks of those brave men who *shall* be sent here to drive the enemies of my country from their usurped fastnesses, if I were sure that she who is dearer to me than life, would not suffer in the conflict. But I will prevail on her—O heaven! grant that she may consent to become my own, that I may lodge her in a place of safety.'

'In such contemplations this ardent and illustrious lover spent upwards of an hour.' Vol. II. pp. 60, 61.

It is certainly useful to know in what employments great men are accustomed to pass their leisure time.

Our readers cannot regret more than our author, and neither of them certainly more than ourselves, the necessity which forbids us to extract the passage in which Washington makes his formal declaration, and receives his formal *coup de grace* from the lady, managed with such admirable dexterity on her part, as not to excite in his mind the slightest suspicion, that she was all the while betrothed to another. We pass it however only to make room for scenes of yet deeper interest.

Washington, on his return to Virginia, finds a lieutenant colonel's commission, and a small body of troops raised by the colony, awaiting him. With these he marches into the wilderness, and takes up a military position at such a convenient distance from Fort Du Quesne, and also from Frazier's cottage, as enables him to carry on love and war *uno ictu* in the most soldierlike manner. Adderly comes out of his hiding place to fill a vacant captaincy. But after various fortune the colonial forces are compelled to capitulate on honorable terms, and return to their own homes. Anon, General Braddock's expedition carries Washington and Adderly once more to the wars; and the famous battle of *Braddock's Field* is opportunely fought within sight of Frazier's cottage. Never did knight of romance, under the influence of peerless dame, perform more unheard of prodigies of valor against Saracen or Turk, than did Washington this day, under the eye of 'the beloved of his soul,' among the red warriors of the west. His men, however, were cut to pieces, his general killed, and Adderly a third time captured. But even this was not the worst consummation of that fatal hour. Monsieur de Villiers, the French commander, got sight of the

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heroine, and forthwith resolved, *per fas aut nefas*, to make her his. Being unable to prevail on better terms, he finally sends a file of soldiers, who forcibly bear her off to his quarters at the fort. We cannot make up our minds to sit down tamely, and recount the numberless temptations and distresses of this fair damsel during her imprisonment, but, inspired rather with the chivalrous spirit of Washington himself, hasten to the rescue.

'She was occupied with these thoughts' [the reader will excuse us for omitting the thoughts] 'when Halmanna,' [the squaw who attended her,] 'entering the room, informed her that she had been commanded by the Mingo prophet to conduct a chief of the Piantia tribe into her apartment, but not to reveal the circumstance to any other person in the garrison.

'"What can this chief want of me?" thought Maria. "But he can want nothing but good, since his errand is sanctioned by Tonnaleuka." She therefore desired Halmanna to admit him. Her heart beat violently as she heard his steps advancing. She rose to meet him, and beckoned the squaw, who was entering before him, to retire. He was dressed in an elk skin robe, the long skirts of which reached below the calves of his legs. This robe was closely wrapped round his waist, so as to show the well formed configuration of his person, and fastened securely there with a broad belt, fantastically, but rather handsomely, ornamented with porcupine's quills, dyed of various colors. His arms were covered with a kind of roller, made of stripes of the soft fur skins of the smaller animals, neatly enough attached to each other with thongs of half tanned deer skin, and wound round the arms from the shoulders to the wrists. At the shoulders, the elbows, and the wrists, these rollers were kept in their places by leathern bands, also ornamented with variegated porcupine's quills. His cap was of a very showy description, made of beaver skin, with a high plume formed of feathers of different dyes, which, glittering in the sun as he moved along the fortress-yard, produced to the eye of the spectator a very striking and brilliant effect. Tassels, made of small feathers, also of various colors, hung in abundance, eight or nine being on each side, over his ears and down his cheeks, so as to shade and partly conceal them; forming, on the whole, a singularly beautiful and gaudy costume. His feet and legs were covered with moccasins and leggins, in the usual manner of the Indians.

'This chief, so majestic in his person and splendid in his apparel, on entering the chamber of Maria, approached her evidently with much emotion, and, to her great astonishment, addressed her in English.

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'"How sorry I am, Miss Frazier," said he, "to find you a captive in such a place, and in the hands of such a man!—But I forget—you do not know me in this disguise. Alas! has the form of him who loves you with an ardor beyond whatever man has felt for woman, made so slight an impression upon your mind, that the mere changing of the hue of his countenance can conceal him from your recollection? Must I name to you the man who loves you with a tenderness and a devotedness, which none but himself can ever feel?—alas, must I name to you—GEORGE WASHINGTON?"' Vol. II. pp. 227—229.

It is much to be regretted, that Chantry and Canova, who have taken so much pains in devising attitude and costume for the immortal Washington, never happened to imagine him with porcupine's quills, leggins, and moccasins in the character of a Piantia chief.

After a tender interview the plan of escape is settled. Washington 'produced from under his robe the habiliments of a squaw.'

'"These," he continued, "when the proper time arrives, you will throw over your other clothes, and thus concealed, you will act as my interpreter with the sentinel, and solicit his permission for me to pass out of the fort to worship, according to the custom of the Piantia chiefs, beneath a red oak tree, to which you are to guide me."' Vol. II. p. 331.

'It was nearly twelve o'clock, everything in the Governor's house was still and silent; even the squaw had retired to rest, and, excepting those of Washington and Maria, it is probable that there was not at that moment a wakeful eye under its roof.

'Washington stole cautiously out of doors, in order to view the state of matters in other parts of the garrison. All was as motionless and silent as his heart could wish. The measured tramp of the sentinel at the fortress gate, was alone to be heard; and, although it was in the middle of July, the clouds of night seemed to perform their office with much effect, and the face of nature was enveloped in a *tolerably thick mantle of darkness.*

'Having ascertained this favorable situation of things, the young hero bent his soul to the business for which he had thus ventured into the strong hold of his enemies. He ascended to the chamber of Maria. He found her waiting with impatience for his appearance.

'"Miss Frazier," said he, "thank heaven, the moment is favorable. Haste, lovely maiden, throw on your disguise. Be of good courage, and let us proceed from this abode of wickedness and brutality, God will open the way for us."

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'A minute or two sufficed to make her ready. She caught Washington's arm. They descended the stairs slowly and without noise, and boldly walked across the area towards the gate.

'"Hallo! who comes there?" shouted the sentinel.

'("You are my interpreter, remember," whispered Washington to Maria, "as I do not speak French.")

'"We are friends," replied Maria to the sentinel, imitating, as well as she could, the pronunciation and tone of a squaw.

'"And where are you going, my friends," asked the soldier, "at this hour? Why does your comrade remain dumb, mistress?"

'"This is the Indian chief," she replied, "that came here to day with the Mingo prophet. He cannot speak your language, and on that account requested me to solicit your permission for him to pass out and worship the Great Spirit beneath the branches of the red oak, as all the chiefs of his nation have been accustomed to do at this hour of the night, twice every moon, once in the full, and once in the wane."

'"And pray, Mrs Squaw, what is your business with this chief? Let him go and worship till he rots, if he pleases; but for you, my dame, I would advise you rather to go to sleep. He can worship devoutly enough without your help, I dare say. Turn back, mistress, if you please." Here the sentinel pushed her somewhat back from him, while she replied, in considerable fright—

'"Ah, sir, my good soldier! I must indeed go with this chief. He is a stranger, and does not know *where to find a red oak tree* —I must guide him."

'"Let him take the first tree he meets," said the sentinel; "it will answer the same purpose, whether it be oak or hiccory. But as for you, dame square toes, I say you shall not pass here to night. No, by St Peter! I shan't risk disobeying orders so far."

'"Sir," observed Maria, her agitation having so much increased that she forgot her assumed character of the squaw, and to the surprise of the soldier, spoke good French—"Sir," said she, "this chief declares that he will not go without me. Oh! pray, do now, my good friend, permit us both to pass, and heaven will bless you!"

'"Heh! who are you?" cried the sentinel. "I protest you seem somewhat too christianized for a squaw. By the holy mother! but I believe there is something wrong in this affair. The Governor has a lady in keeping. I think I must keep you both within the walls, till we see who you are. I'll be broiled, if it would not cost me a bullet in my heart, if I allowed that lady to escape. Back to your quarters this moment, or by the devil! I shall call the guard."

'"Alas!" said the frightened Maria in English to Washington,

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while the sentinel was uttering this tirade; "we are discovered, we are ruined! Ah me! he threatens to call the guard upon us!"

'At that instant the sentinel seized Maria rudely by the arm, and endeavored to separate her from the chief, calling out loudly for the assistance of the guard; but the next instant he fell, with a dagger plunged to the hilt, by the whole of Washington's tremendous force, in his heart.

'The hero seized the trembling Maria in his arms, for terror had rendered her unable to support herself, and hastening with his beloved burden out of the fort, to the spot where Tonnaleuka, attended by Paddy Frazier, had appointed to wait with horses, Maria was in a moment placed on one of them, and her strength being sufficiently recovered, Tonnaleuka led the way through the the woods; she followed, and *Washington and Paddy brought* up the rear.' Vol. II. pp. 237—239.

Soon after the escape we have an *èclaircissement*. Washington, thinking probably that he had now bought a title to the lady's regard, renews his suit, and then learns for the first time, from 'the beloved of his soul,' that her heart is another's, at which Washington staggers and turns pale. Presently news arrives that Captain Adderly's life is respited by his Indian captors, at Tonnaleuka's intercession, until Monday noon. It is now the heroine's turn to stagger and turn pale. However, 'the most judicious means within reach were applied for her recovery, and in about seven or eight minutes' (as our author avers) 'the organs of vitality began to resume the performance of their functions.' In about seven or eight minutes more, as near as we have been able to calculate, Washington pressed her hand to his burning lips, (it was the first time we are told he had taken that liberty,) and tore himself away.

The scene then changes to the 'head waters of Chartier's creek.' Monday noon has arrived, and Captain Adderly is bound to the stake.

'Remalseh gave a shout of joy that all was secure, and had just retired a few paces from Charles, when a troop of cavalry burst, like a clap of thunder, down the eastern hill; a loud huzza rang through the air, while at the same instant, a volley from a number of carbines levelled Remalseh, Taksuma, and five other Indians to the earth. The rest of the savages had scarcely waited to see this slaughter of their chiefs, but had fled in dreadful panic, in various directions, into the adjoining woods. In a moment the sword of Washington had cut the bands of Adderly, and the hapless victim

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was rescued from the fire of savage vengeance, ere a single particle of it had touched his body.' Vol. II. pp. 260, 261.

The hero being thus restored, by the generosity of Washington, to the arms of the heroine, Tonnaleuka takes the opportunity to discover himself as the father of Maria, and the same gentleman who ran wild into the woods at his wife's death. He was a Scotchman by birth, a Frenchman by adoption, and an Indian by reputation. The whole family then remove out of the wilderness, since they had experienced enough of adventure there to fill up two good sized volumes, and consequently had no longer any motive for staying. Gilbert returns to his first settlement on the Juniata, now become a civilised place. The hero and the heroine are duly married; and, as for Washington,

'His heart having suffered much, he became serious, and contemplative, even in the days of his youth; but he had done his duty, and hence he was blest with the consciousness of self approbation, and with the possession of a magnanimous firmness, an independence, and a fearlessness in all his actions and intercourse with the world. Having parted with the only object that could engross his whole affections, and being naturally free from every close and selfish feeling, his heart regarded all men as his brothers, it cherished his country as his only mistress, and hearkened to his duty as his only master. In short, from the day on which it was forced to abandon the tender hopes of a youthful and enthusiastic love, it would be impossible to find an example of human nature having produced a heart more purely and entirely devoted to all the calls of philanthropy, patriotism and duty, and productive of actions more conducive to the benefit of the world, than the heart of WASHINGTON.' Vol. II. pp. 291, 292.

It cannot be reckoned among the least of the benefits, which Washington has thus conferred upon the world, that he has been the occasion of so remarkable a work as that we have above noticed. For ingenuity and originality we are sure the author of the Wilderness must stand unparalleled among American novelists. We have indeed, before this, seen Washington placed in extraordinary situations; but who besides our author ever imagined him,

> 'Sighing like furnace, with a woful ballad
> Made to his mistress' eyebrow?'

Who ever before thought of General Washington thridding the mazes of a cotillon upon 'light fantastic toe,' or march-

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ing with the true aboriginal parrot toed gait in an elegant costume of party colored feathers, and porcupine's quills! We have had no room to notice the minor characters in the book; but we can assure our readers that they are all as well sustained, and have as much verisimilitude as that of Washington himself.

We are glad to learn from the introduction to the 'Spectre of the Forest,' that our author has found with the public all the favor, which he so highly deserves. We have no time for a minute analysis of this latter work. We can only say, there is nothing in it quite equal to Washington; but still, upon the whole, it is rather a bolder attempt than the Wilderness. The scene is laid chiefly in Connecticut, and the manners of our puritan ancestors are intended to be described. The machinery of horror is far more various and complicated than in the Wilderness. We have wars, Indians, wild beasts, witches, trials, hangings, mobs, pirates, regicides, all conspiring against the reader's peace in every page. But on the other hand, we have the solace of such society as Prior, Dryden, Addison, besides the king and the queen, judges, bishops, dukes, lords, and gentlemen, which to be sure we are obliged to go to England to enjoy, but with which we are amply repaid for all our trouble, seeing so many and so great personages as familiarly as Scott himself could have shown them. The Spectre, who appears and disappears in a most astonishing manner on all great occasions, and constantly stands ready to help the author through every difficulty, turns out to be no other than Goffe, one of those who subscribed to Charles' execution, and who is said to have secreted himself for several years in this country.

ART. XII.—*Debate in Congress on the Bill to amend the several Acts for imposing Duties on Imports.* 1824.

ON examining the speeches made upon the tariff question, we find that, as far as the *principle* of the restrictive policy goes, the argument is given up by its friends. Under the form of ridicule ineffectually cast on several distinguished

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writers upon political economy, the reasoning of those writers seems to be admitted to be irrefragable. Under the pretence of passing over their arguments as metaphysical, they are admitted to be such as allow no reply; since no one probably will think, that the friends of the tariff policy would neglect to refute, if possible, the doctrines of the most approved writers on political economy, and prove them to be as false as they maintain them to be impracticable. To show more distinctly, from an unexceptionable source, in what way the friends of the tariff treat the arguments of some of the most sensible authors of the last and present century, we make the following quotations from the speech of the Chairman of the Committee of Manufactures.

'Bonaparte and the British ministry, it has been stated, wrangled for whole weeks if not months during the peace of 1803, (?) about the quantities of goods, which the people of the two nations might exchange with each other; each party obstinate to the very last in refusing to take the products of the other, unless they were permitted to be paid for in the product of the nation receiving them. Whether right or not, all this was done by statesmen; and let it not be forgotten that, while doing it, they had all the metaphysical books of the economists before their eyes; or if not all their books, yet all their discoveries had been made before that time; made and published by Frenchmen and by Britons for the good of their own dear countries, and calculated for their own latitudes. Of these discoveries the grandest is said to be, that, in order to get rich, a nation has nothing to do but to refuse to eat, drink, or wear anything made or produced at home, provided it can be had cheaper from abroad, so that we see how completely opposite to these discoveries has been the practice of the two nations; and from this, and from all their conduct before and since, it is plain, that the two countries, which produced these political economists, have always looked upon them as so many conceited enthusiasts, and have taken special care never to meddle, practically, with their books, except so far as to print and export them. In some foreign countries they have had, to be sure, an amazing run. I am not going to try my hand at disentangling their arguments. Let it be, that all their reasoning on the subject is so correctly metaphysical and so deep, as not to be comprehended nor refuted. What then? In legislating for a great country, are we to draw our information and our opinions from the deductions of theoretical writers? Or are we to look to the practice of statesmen and to the actual effect, which different systems have had on the prosperity and decay of nations?'

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This extract, coinciding as it does with the sentiments expressed in almost every speech on the same side of the question, appears to us to justify the assertion, that the friends of the tariff policy admit the argument of their opponents to be unanswerable. They cast on this argument, indeed, the reproach of being metaphysical and abstract, but tell us they do not undertake to enter into it,—they appeal to practice. Now it seems to us rather an unpromising aspect of a policy, that it begins by resisting the deductions of men, who have, with great concert of opinion and reasoning, established the principles of the science that treats of this policy. What, we may well ask, is the meaning of a *practical* man in the business of a tariff? You reject the conclusions of Smith and Say, and appeal to the practice of ministers and financiers; and you call the former theoretical, and the latter practical men. But why appropriate the terms thus, or rather why give the name of practical, in this connexion, to the minister rather than to the writer? The truth is, that *practical* is a term not well applied, on either side, to the subject. There is a propriety in the distinction of practical and theoretical, when applied to the arts of life; a practical farmer is properly opposed to a scientific agriculturist; a practical artist to an adept in mechanical philosophy. But what do the friends of the tariff mean, when they talk of a practical system as opposed to a theoretical, in regard to the proper national policy of encouragement extended to different branches of industry? What makes a statesman, in this respect, a practical man? He has not followed any one of the pursuits, which he taxes or encourages. He has been neither a merchant, a manufacturer, nor a planter; neither a collector of customs, nor an exciseman. Nay more, it rarely happens that he is himself the author of the system he administers. He is not a practical man, even in the limited sense of having devised and matured the various prohibitory or protecting duties, which he maintains in existence. These, in all the old countries of Europe, have been the growth of centuries. They have many of them been imposed to meet particular occasions; some duties have been contrived to balance others, and they now must remain, because immense sacrifices would be made by repealing them.

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To administer such a system, a nobleman of strong connexions, or a political leader of transcendant talents, comes into office. Nothing would be wider from the truth, than to suppose he comes there to do what he thinks in itself right; nothing more unjust, than to quote him in favor of a system which he continues or even enforces, because he cannot alter it. Nothing is more preposterous, moreover, than to call him a *practical* man in reference to this business, on the score of his introducing into the legislature or presenting to the king, the laws or decrees, which the regulation and adjustment of the conflicting parts of such a system, from time to time, require. What information he needs, to discharge these official duties, he seeks from the tradesmen, artisans, or planters, who possess it, and the books which contain it; what principles he acts on, he has formed from observation, reflection, and reading. In this way and no other do the writers on political economy gather their facts and form their opinions. But, in general, the business of tariffs and duties is the smallest part of the *practice* of these statesmen, who are strangely looked up to by American legislators. Wars, the balance of power, coalitions, ambitious projects abroad, intrigues at home, the preservation of place, jobs for friends, these are the things, which constitute the practice of statesmen, far more considerably than the administration of the great national interests.

If there be any propriety in connecting the epithet *practical* with this subject, we should think it belonged precisely to the writers, who are derided as theoretical. The Chairman of the Committee of Manufactures, in that homely way, which characterises him, intimates that Dr Smith and his school were but 'conceited enthusiasts.' And yet the Doctor was a cool, sagacious man; he devoted twenty years and more to the composition of the *Wealth of Nations*. The book itself proves that no minister or statesman could be better acquainted with the facts relative to every part of the public system than he; not only in his own country, but in almost every other. He particularly sought and received information from all, who were best able to afford it, of which an important instance is mentioned in the case of the bank of Amsterdam, in the preface to the fourth edition. Much of his life was employed in investigations, much of his high

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reputation pledged on successfully treating this subject, and who can be better entitled than he, in this connexion, to the name of *practical*, we cannot conceive. *Cuique in arte sua credendum est;* nor is there one circumstance, that justly gives the name of practical to a statesman, in this connexion, which would not give it far more decisively to Smith.

Or take the case of Mr Ricardo, also one of these 'conceited enthusiasts,' these metaphysical dreamers. He was a man, who, from being an indigent Jew, of Portuguese descent, raised himself to a princely fortune, to a seat in parliament, to respectability in the best English circles, to an equality with what that country has of most intelligent. Mr Ricardo had the reputation of being, of all men in Europe, the best versed in the really abstract subject of money; and his opinions in the House of Commons, on this subject, were received with proportionate respect. What is there, in such a man, to authorise the stigma of conceited enthusiasm and metaphysical abstraction? Why is he theoretical, and lord Castlereagh practical? We say again, that of the two, Mr Ricardo is the practical man. A fortune of three or four millions of dollars, acquired by his own industry, sagacity, and success; invested in the most various forms, in the stocks, in manufactures, in landed estates; several years passed in the legislature, in which on all questions connected with finance he was allowed to take a lead; and finally, that peculiar *stimulus* to investigation, which arises from undertaking to write upon a subject, and thus commiting a high reputation to public scrutiny; all these seem to be circumstances, which constitute Mr Ricardo a practical man in the business he treated. If he was not, we know not what the word means. If he be not better entitled to the name, than the ministers, who probably devote fewer hours than he did days to this subject; then we confess that the essence of a *practical* economist is indeed a metaphysical subtlety, which we cannot grasp. The name is easily claimed, but we apprehend it would exceed the ingenuity of the Chairman of the Committee of Manufactures, to define the thing in any way, which would make Mr Canning the practical, and Mr Ricardo the theoretical person.

But the chairman tells us, in his plain way, that 'he is not going to try to disentangle the arguments of these writers. Let it be, that all their reasoning is so correctly metaphysical

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and so deep, as not to be comprehended nor refuted.' We can infer only, from this way of speaking, that our practical statesman has never read them. We much fear, that he and many of his colleagues are in the predicament of persons, who deride what they have not given themselves the trouble to become acquainted with. If the worthy chairman will but read the *Wealth of Nations*, we assure him he will find it a perpetual feast. Supposing him too candid to quarrel with a book of considerable extent, because some of its views may appear to him unsound, it will be with great satisfaction that the chairman will find much of the Wealth of Nations to commend itself even to him, as sound practical wisdom. He will be agreeably disappointed to discover in it a vast fund of information, on all the pursuits of society; a steady choice of the moderate, gradual, and prudent over the speculative and hazardous; a preference of the home market over a foreign market. He will find, to his amazement, that the Report of General Hamilton, which he so much lauds, is in a good measure borrowed from the work of Smith, which he so much sneers at. If the chairman would give it an attentive and candid perusal, we feel sure that he would wonder at the epithets, which he has so unjustly bestowed upon him.

We might say nearly as much of the work of Mr Say. Abating the chapters, which bear hard on the tariff policy, we assure the chairman of the committee, that the greater part of the work will appear to him sound and judicious; the production of a strong and richly furnished mind. In both these works, he will find neither pomp nor obscurity of language; no splitting of hairs. no far pursued chase after theories, unsupported by instances and facts. In Say, particularly, he will be struck with a singular plainness, an occasional heartiness of manner, which though rather more refined than the chairman's own, bears the same stamp of sincerity. He will positively not find one proposition in the work, on which he can put his finger and fairly pronounce it *metaphysical*, in the opprobrious sense of that term; not one proposition, which he can comfort himself by calling obscure or recondite; or from which he can well turn aside, as fantastical and far fetched.

If this be true, and we appeal to every candid man, (whatever he thinks of the tariff policy,) who has read these works, that it is true; we would ask what propriety there is, in the

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tone adopted towards these writers, in the late debate? We would also ask, whether the doctrines of such men do not require to be fairly met and disproved, not by the compendious course of an appeal to the practice of statesmen, but by manly counter reasonings; by showing that the doctrines in question rest on false premises, or irregular deductions from true ones. Till this is done, the friends of the tariff system must be content to have it said, by fair and candid observers, that they give up the defence of their cause by argument.

But we have not quite done with this topic. Not only do the chairman of the committee, and his colleagues, do great injustice to what really is contained in the writings of the political economists; but they commit the equally gross injustice of throwing out, as a standing answer to every antitariff statement, that it is borrowed from these books. They first attempt to give the books the abovementioned character, and then think they have answered any statement by saying, it comes from the books, it is merely the *ipse dixit* of Adam Smith. An example will make this clear. Mr Webster, in the course of his speech, took occasion to speak of the exploded doctrine of the *Balance of Trade*, which he had rightly denominated *jargon* and *nonsense*. After showing it to be so, by the most rigid and severe exposition of the nature of commercial exchanges, in which not an allusion was made to any writer or book, he closes the topic with this appeal to '*practice*.'

'Allow me, Sir, to give an instance, tending to show how unaccountably individuals deceive themselves, and imagine themselves to be somewhat rapidly mending their condition, while they ought to be persuaded that, by that infallible standard, *the balance of trade*, they are on the high road to ruin. Some years ago, in better times than the present, a ship left one of the towns of New England with 70,000 specie dollars. She proceeded to Mocha, on the Red Sea, and there laid out these dollars in coffee, drugs, spices, &c. With this new cargo she proceeded to Europe; two thirds of it were sold in Holland for 130,000 dollars, which the ship brought back, and placed in the same Bank, from the vaults of which she had taken her original outfit. The other third was sent to the ports of the Mediterranean, and produced a return of 25,000 dollars in specie, and 15,000 dollars in Italian merchandise. These sums together make 170,000 dollars imported, which is 100,000 dollars more than was exported, and is therefore proof of an unfavorable *balance of trade*, to that amount, in this adventure.

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We should find no great difficulty, Sir, in paying off our balances, if this were the nature of them all.'

And how does the Chairman of the Committee of Manufactures reply to this? We feel regret in quoting him. After naming Mr Webster in the preceding paragraph, and calling him 'more of a philosopher than a politician,' he goes on to add, 'not a little has been said about the *balance of trade*, and we have been beset, throughout almost the whole of this debate, *by authorities drawn from the books of the writers called modern political economists.*' Is this fair, above all in a practical man? Mr Webster quoted no book on this subject. The principle, which he very happily illustrated, may be found, indeed, in several books. But Mr Webster did not go to them for it, did not give it on any authority, but its own selfevidence. Why did not the chairman, if he really was desirous of treating the subject practically, confute this practical instance; and show how, on *his* theory of the balance of trade, the Mocha voyage could be profitable.

With respect to this pretended contrast of a practical and theoretical policy nothing is more certain, than that it is an alternative, not between theory and practice, but between two theories. On one side it is said to be the interest of the nation to leave the direction of individual industry to individual judgment. This you object is a theory. Be it so. But when in return you say, with the chairman of the committee, that it is best for the government to direct individual industry, that government is nothing but restriction, that it is for the sake of restriction that men formed societies, and the like; is not this a theory? What is there more *practical* in this proposition, than in the first? And which is the most rational, which looks most practicable, which is most republican? The records of the inquisition do not contain a doctrine more purely despotic in its tendency, than, that all government is restriction. The object of government is directly the reverse, to devise the smallest amount of restriction, by which the greatest liberty can be secured.

Again, the approved writers on political economy say, that it is conducive to the national wealth that every individual consumer should buy where he can buy cheapest, and, which is the necessary consequence, sell where he can sell dearest; that is, where he can get most necessaries and comforts for

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the fruits of his labor. This is said to be mere theory. But, on the other hand, when the friends of the tariff policy tell us, it is more conducive to national wealth, that the consumer buy of a countryman, is not that theory? Must it not be shown, that the former is a false theory, and the latter a true theory, and till this is shown, do they not, as theories, stand on the same ground? At any rate, if the theories of political economy be not unintelligible or absurd *in their terms*, which we presume is not pretended, they are either true or false; if true, they are confirmed in practice, for that is the meaning of a true theory, viz. a theory which agrees with the facts; if false, they can be shown to be so. But so far from this being done, the advocates of the tariff policy call them metaphysical, and turn their backs on them.

Still, though we complain of the way in which the argument on the *principle* of the tariff policy has been met, we allow very cheerfully that the appeal to the practice of those countries, which have all either prohibited or severely taxed imported manufactures, is a fair argument, and we shall do our best to answer it fairly. As it is put in the front rank of defence, by the friends of the tariff, as it is made to serve as an answer to all arguments on the principle of their policy, we shall reply to it, with the attention due to the importance with which it is thus clothed. We observe, then, in the first place, that this argument takes for granted the very thing to be proved, and that with the widest comprehension both of premises and conclusion. It is asserted that America is in a distressed, impoverished, and declining state; that certain foreign nations are rich and prosperous; that their tariffs of heavy and prohibitory duties on imported goods, and the consequent encouragement of manufactures, are the cause of this prosperity; and that, therefore, America has only to imitate these foreign nations in introducing the causes, and the effect will follow. Reduced to a series of plain propositions, the foregoing is the great argument from the practice of statesmen and the example of other nations, which has been made to serve as an answer to the best established principles of political economy. Now we consider it perfectly correct to observe, that this whole statement of facts is erroneous. We deny each proposition in the series. We deny that this country is in a state of impoverishment and ruin. We deny

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that any foreign country is prosperous compared with America. We deny that there is sufficient ground to ascribe what prosperity is enjoyed by foreign nations to the restrictive system; and we finally deny that this system, even if productive of prosperity abroad, could be, with any certainty, depended on to produce the same effects here, considering the different circumstances of the old and of the new world.

With regard to the first point, that this country is incorrectly alleged to be in a state of impoverishment and ruin, we should think it presumptuous to endeavor to add anything to the views, which are taken by Mr Webster in the commencement of his speech. We can ascribe it only to the conviction, into which an ardent mind may excite itself on *any* subject, that a statesman, so enlightened as Mr Clay, whose political glance is comprehensive enough to take in the whole of a country, should, on the ground of the facts, which he has collected in his speech on the tariff, draw the conclusion that this country is really, at this moment, on the whole, in an abject state. We rejoice that we are able, on this point, to appeal from this his unfavorable judgment, to his own on another occasion, where he justly speaks of 'this happy' this 'favored land;' and represents it, as it is, full of energy, resource, and power. Nor is that gentleman unacquainted with the distress of Europe, nor with the hollow, unsubstantial, and deceptive nature of its prosperity. On this point also we shall make but a few incidental remarks, when led to the subject, in pursuance of what we esteem the most important proposition, viz. that even if the great foreign states are prosperous, there is not sufficient ground to ascribe their prosperity to their tariffs.

The aggregate condition of a nation, its general state of poor or rich, prosperous or declining, is a very complex effect, sometimes perhaps resulting from some few very predominant causes, but far more commonly from the joint effect of numerous institutions, laws, and national habits. To say, because you wish to recommend a high tariff, that foreign nations are prosperous, and foreign nations have high tariffs, and therefore the tariffs are the cause of the prosperity, appears to us an unstatesmanlike language. These nations, whose example in respect of the tariff is pressed upon us, have all of them many other institutions, far more prominent and marked, and really exerting a far more decisive effect on the

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public condition, than any which can be rationally ascribed to laws regulating the importation of foreign goods. They have forms of hereditary monarchical, sometimes despotic government. Is not this an institution, which, traced in all its connexions and consequences, is a far more prominent institution than a commercial tariff, and therefore more entitled to be selected as the cause of the national condition, be it prosperous or adverse? These nations, moreover, have orders of nobility, immense landed capitals and very powerful political influence secured to certain families. They have vast standing armies, they have foreign insular or continental possessions. Now we are certainly not saying, that any one of these or all together, can make a nation prosperous and happy, without various other things, which we have not yet named. Yet we submit it to any one, who reflects on the springs of national character, that any one of these institutions must exert a far more decisive influence on the nation's condition, than its tariff; and of course there is no reason for ascribing the power and prosperity of the foreign nations to an engine of comparatively insignificant force, while others so potent are in action. Why fix on the tariff of duties to account for a national condition, which unquestionably arises from the combined operation of very various causes among which the tariff, at best, can be only one; from the institutions inherited from a remote ancestry, from geographical features, from the laws affecting the distribution and security of property, and, above all, from the state of civil freedom?

But it is not enough to say that the friends of the tariff, in adopting a course of reasoning like this, make use of an illogical argument; they really contradict the most unquestioned deductions not of political economy, for that admirable science some of them deride, but of political history and political experience. We freely confess, that it is of great importance that the most wise and most judicious laws, could they but be ascertained as such, should be enacted in the various and interesting branches of industry, even to the most insignificant details. But when this is done, it is idle to say that any one of them is the main spring of national prosperity. They do not make it, where the other and higher principles of public growth are wanting; nor do they destroy it, where these exist. It is the more important to make this remark,

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for in the zeal of defending or opposing a measure like the tariff, politicians on either side of the question, are apt to form narrow views of the true sources of national condition. We owe it to our cardinal institutions, to assert their importance; to ascribe to them the prosperity of which they are the real source; and to trace to their absence, in the countries unfortunate enough to want them, the degeneracy and decline, which this want invariably produces. Political independence, as contrasted with colonial subjection, or great subserviency to a powerful neighbor; a limited government, and still more, a representative government; the trial by jury, the freedom of the press, the equality of laws, the security of property; these are the springs of national prosperity; these make a nation powerful, prosperous, rich; increase its population, multiply its resources. A nation where these abound possesses a principle of life capable of bearing up under enormous burdens, and of resisting the power of the most insidious and the most malignant political diseases.

In the example of England we see, that a principle of life and power may be infused into a nation, capable of reacting against the most formidable attacks from without and from within. But is there a statesman in Congress, who, passing over the institution of representative government, however defective, (and monstrously corrupt and defective it is in that country,) passing over an equal administration of justice, a free press, the security of property, and an insular situation, will deliberately say that it is not these, which have made the nation rich and powerful, but her laws against the importation of German linen and French cloth? We cannot think it. We cannot believe that any statesman in America, in that country where the omnipotence, if we may venture on the term, of free institutions has been developed in a certainty and glory never seen before in the world, could be willing deliberately to do his country, and the blessings bestowed on it, such injustice, as to say, these are all nothing to the public happiness, till the duty on woollens is raised eight per cent. An American statesman ought to read in the history of his own country, if not in that of others, what it is that makes nations grow and prosper. He ought to see what it was, which lifted this continent of Northern America from a colony, and a province, into a mighty empire, and that too under a

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system of metropolitan government, so iniquitous, that we durst not manufacture a hobnail, nor transport a felt hat from province to province. If gentlemen think a high tariff good, very good, let them say so. If certain trades languish for the want of it, nothing can be fairer than that those concerned in them should importune Congress for relief. It is natural that the representatives of those districts of the country, which will be most benefited by the exclusion of foreign fabrics, should urge and press the enactment of laws, that will promote the interest of their constituents. But we would not behold high minded politicians ready to see, in every favorite measure of local advantage, the *sine qua non* of national prosperity. The tone of legislation is lamentably lowered, when we ascribe to 'cockets and clearances,' to duties specific and ad valorem, what those duties never did and never can impart.

Nay, there are causes, which, though much lower than the lofty political ones alluded to, are nevertheless more powerful in their influence on the national condition, than laws of so limited a sphere as the tariff. Dr Franklin said that England owed her predominance to her coal mines; and Lowe, in his late work, names them among three or four other causes, (of which the tariff is not one,) of the prosperity of England. Certainly, it is true that geographical position, climate, fertility, and conveniences for internal navigation, are infinitely more important than any law, however broad its enactments, saving such as go to affect the tenure and security of property.

The difference of nations is enough to show, that it must be these physical and political causes combined, which ascertain their condition. Their tariffs, as we have been abundantly, nay, tauntingly told, they all have; that is, all the supposed prosperous ones. France, England, Russia, Austria, have all their innumerable laws to secure to their manufacturers the supply of their respective countries. But yet how different the condition of these nations; England alone immensely rich; France, Russia, Austria, in various degrees poor as nations; poor in respect to the private fortunes of individuals. And yet all that tariffs can do has been done in them all. The French, notwithstanding the superiority of English capital and machinery, have brought their woollens to perfection; and the linens of Silesia bear witness, that a

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manufacture may flourish in an impoverished country, an enslaved province. If a tariff is the grand *arcanum* of national condition, if it be that, which, by its presence or absence makes nations prosperous or the reverse, why are not France, Austria, Russia, and England equally rich, powerful, and flourishing; why does not the same cause, if thus energetic, produce the same effect?

In fact the proposition becomes so absurd, by being dwelt upon, that those, who have not followed the course of the debate on the tariff question, will find it hard to believe that it could have been seriously urged; and yet nothing is more certain, than that no answer was attempted to all the general reasonings against the tariff, but this, that foreign nations, which had tariffs, were prosperous. Nay more, the converse of this extravagant position was sustained in Congress, and it was strangely asserted, that the decline and impoverishment of such nations as Spain, Portugal, and Poland, were owing to their want of a tariff of duties on foreign fabrics. To assert this is so entirely to shut one's eyes on the spectacle of political history, and to introduce a paradox so monstrous, that it ought for a moment to be animadverted upon. We are surprised that accomplished statesmen, like Mr Clay, should find no more powerful cause of the decline of Spain, than the importation of British woollens. The expulsion of the Moors and Jews, absolute monarchy, the inquisition, the division of the country into independent kingdoms, with custom houses on the barriers, the absorption of wealth and men by the convents and the church, the license of driving hundreds of thousands of sheep across the kingdom, are these such insignificant causes of national decline, that the importation of British cloth should be fixed on, to the exclusion of them all? There are even commercial causes of the decline of Spain far more obvious. Uztariz, a tariff man in the main, thus speaks of the prosperity of his country.

'After the strictest inquiry, and a most mature consideration of the duties imposed on commodities and goods in Spain, and other kingdoms and states, I have not been able to discover in France, England, or Holland, nations that best know the value of Commerce, that they ever laid any duty upon the sale or barter of their own woven and other manufactures, either upon the first or any future sale. As then I find Spain alone groaning under this bur-

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den, and it is so very oppressive, as to lay *ten per cent*, for the primitive Alcavala, and the *four one per cents* annexed to it, a duty not only chargeable on the first sale, but on every future sale of goods, I am jealous that it is one of the principal engines that contributed to the ruin of most of our manufactures and trades.'*

We should apprehend that those, who find the causes of national growth and decline in circumstances like these, would be satisfied with a duty of fourteen per cent on every transfer of property, as sufficient, without the aid of foreign importation. The same author gives us a view of the duties on silk.

'*Duties chargeable upon every Pound of Granada Silk.*

		Maravedis Vellon.
For the Alcavala,		302
„	Cientos,	104
„	Tartil,	8
„	Arbitrio,	68
„	Torres de la Mer,	4 1-2
„	Geliz,	15 1-2
		502

The amount of these duties is five hundred and two maravedis, which make fourteen reals, twenty six maravedis, to which are to be added the duty of the diezmo, collected on the account of the royal revenue, but variable according to the price of the commodity, and that year was ninety two maravedis, as a pound of silk was then valued at twenty seven reals vellon, before the charging of any duties. Thus, if we include the diezmo, the duties amounted to seventeen reals, sixteen maravedis vellon upon each pound, which is above sixty per cent of the value of the silk, before it goes into the loom, a load so very oppressive, and such a clog upon the culture and manufacture of silk, that every person must needs confess it; and for his conviction, there needs only the bare mention of the fact, as it stands in that chapter; however, I have thought proper to take notice of it in this place, though it will give a fresh mortification to recollect this lamentable piece of mismanagement, but it is with a view, that when the whole of this misfortune is fairly laid open, we may better judge of the necessity of applying a remedy.'

From these statements of a highly respectable Spanish author, the friends of the tariff policy, in this country, if they choose to find the causes of the impoverishment of Spain in her legislation on these subjects, may perceive that it was

* Uztariz' Theory and Practice of Commerce, Vol. II. 236.

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something very different from low duties on imports, with which the Spanish manufacturer had to struggle. In fact, it is plain that the free admission of foreign goods was, in the state of inaction to which the combined operation of the causes above indicated had reduced the country, the only mode in which Spain could invest the specie of the American colonies, and the country be saved from entire ruin. Without liberty, security, industrious habits, and freedom of internal trade, there could not have been cloth enough woven at home to cover the backs of the population; and it was nothing but the free access of foreign goods, which enabled them to convert a part of the almost worthless specie of the Indies into the wants and comforts of life. The only good feature in the whole Spanish system was that, by moderate duties on imports, the people had some means left of supplying themselves on reasonable terms, with articles of first necessity. And yet we are told, that it was not the Inquisition, it was not the engrossing of the property of the country by the church, it was not the barrier between the kingdoms, it was not the *mesta* which ruined Spain, but the want of a tariff of high duties on imports. Is there an American who will believe it? If there be one who, wearied with the iteration of it in essays, addresses, and memorials, is tempted to think it may be true, let him fancy the principle put to the test in his own country. Establish a despotic monarchy, and a nobility, reduce the population of America from ten to five millions, by a series of cruel laws, as that of Spain has been reduced from sixteen millions to eight, constitute a holy inquisition in the predominating sect, and visit the firesides and hearts of the population with the terrors of the rack and the stake, lock up a third of the wealth in mortmain for the benefit of a lazy priesthood, and hundreds of thousands of monkish drones, forbid the exportation of specie, and thereby do all that laws can do to annihilate its exchangeable value in foreign trade, permit the several states to collect heavy transit duties on their frontiers, and let the general government lay a tax of fourteen per cent on every sale; when the country is thus reduced to a sheep walk, for barrenness, make it literally one, as Spain is, by sending twice a year across the kingdom a desolating horde of semibarbarous shepherds with their vast flocks; and then enact a tariff. Will it save the country, will it raise it,

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will it create capital, excite industry, awaken enterprise, secure property; or will it not rather cut off the last source of supply to a ruined people? Yet this is precisely the case with Spain, and nearly so with Portugal. As for Poland, well known to be both before and after the partition, the worst ruled country in Europe, to ascribe its poverty to the want of a tariff, is to sin against the light of republican institutions, and good government. To forbid the wretched inhabitants of that land to exchange their corn, the only blessing which their own anarchy and foreign despotism have not wrested from them, for a supply of necessary articles of manufacture from abroad, would be to take away the only remaining alleviation of the most calamitous national existence, into which a people can be plunged.

In what we have hitherto said, we have proceeded upon the admission, that in comparison with the wretchedness of America, in some foreign countries the restrictive system was really associated with a high degree of prosperity, if not of the population at large, at least of those interests, which the tariffs are designed to protect. The whole argument of the friends of the tariff assumed this of course as granted. Mr Clay exerted all the powers of his brilliant imagination, wide observation of facts, and happy power of combination and arrangement, and produced a picture, which one could not indeed contemplate without pain, of the impoverishment of America. Contrasted with this, though less distinctly, and with some misgiving, we apprehend, of the solidity of the ground on which he was treading, he sketched in bold lines, the resources and prosperity of England. By less able hands than his, this same contrast was less cautiously made, and we were again and again called to compassionate the prostration into which our infant manufactures fell, for want of protection on the return of peace; the invested capital that was sacrificed, the prosperous undertaker that was ruined, the industrious laborer driven from his employment, and the resounding factory, over whose lately busy wheels, the stream now breaks with profitless clamor; and all for want of a tariff. Now let us look at England, the paragon of protecting policy, the chancery of prohibitory laws, the metropolis of the tariff policy. We assert it as a fact, which admits no contradiction, that there is not a country on earth, where the manufac-

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turing interests, after the general peace, suffered more than in England, and where, both during the war and since the peace, the manufacturing system is the acknowledged source of so much misery. On this last topic we beg leave to quote the words of Mr Southey, of whom it is enough perhaps to say, in order to guarantee his impartiality on this subject, that he is one of the principal Quarterly Reviewers. The work, which we cite, was published about 1805.

'With all its boasted wealth and prosperity, England is at the mercy of the seasons. One unfavorable harvest occasions dearth; and what the consequences of famine would be in a country, where the poor are already so numerous and wretched, is a question, which the boldest statesman dares not ask himself. When volunteer forces were raised over the kingdom, the poor were excluded; it was not thought safe to trust them with arms. But the peasantry are and ought to be the strength of every country; and wo to that country, when the peasantry and poor are the same! Many causes have contributed to the rapid increase of this evil. The ruinous wars of the present reign, and the oppressive system of taxation pursued by the late *premier* are among the principal. But the manufacturing system is the main cause; it is the inevitable tendency of that system to multiply the number of the poor, and to make them vicious, diseased, and miserable.'

The same eloquent writer thus speaks in another passage of the same work;

'We purchase English cloth, English muslins, English buttons, &c. and admire the excellent skill with which they are fabricated, and wonder that from such a distance they can be afforded us at so low a price, and think what a happy country England is. A happy country indeed it is for the higher orders; nowhere have the rich so many enjoyments, nowhere have the ambitious so fair a field, nowhere have the ingenious such encouragement, nowhere have the intellectual such advantages; but to talk of English happiness is like talking of Spartan freedom; the Helots are overlooked. In no other country can such riches be acquired by commerce, but it is the *one* who grows rich by the labors of the *hundred*. The hundred human beings like himself, as wonderfully fashioned by nature, gifted with the like capacities, and equally made for immortality, are sacrificed body and soul. Horrible as it must needs appear, the assertion is true to the very letter. They are deprived in childhood of all instruction and all enjoyment; of the sports in which childhood instinctively indulges; of fresh air by day, and of natural sleep by night. Their health, physical and moral, is alike de-

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stroyed; they die of diseases induced by unremitting taskwork, by confinement in the impure atmosphere of crowded rooms, by the particles of metallic or vegetable dust, which they are constantly inhaling; or they live to grow up without decency, without comfort, and without hope; without morals, without religion, without shame, and bring forth slaves like themselves, to tread in the same path of misery.

'The dwellings of the laboring manufacturers are in narrow streets and lanes, blocked up from light and air, not as in our country, [Spain] to exclude an insupportable sun, but crowded together, because every inch of land is of such value, that room for light and air cannot be afforded them. Here in Manchester, a great proportion of the poor lodge in cellars, damp and dark, where every kind of filth is suffered to accumulate, because no exertions of domestic care can ever make such homes decent. These places are so many hotbeds of infection, and the poor in large towns are rarely or never without an infectious fever among them, a plague of their own, which leaves the habitations of the rich, like a Goshen of cleanliness and comfort, unvisited. * * *

'The poor must be kept miserably poor, or such a state of things could not continue; there must be laws to regulate their wages, not by the value of their work, but by the pleasure of their masters; laws to prevent their removal from one place to another, within the kingdom, and to prohibit their emigration out of it. They would not be crowded in hot task houses by day, and herded together in damp cellars by night; they would not toil in unwholesome employments from sunrise till sunset, whole days, and whole days and quarters, for with twelve hours' labor the avidity of trade is not satisfied; they would not sweat night and day, keeping up this *laus perennis* of the devil, before furnaces which are never suffered to cool, and breathing in vapors which inevitably produce disease and death; the poor would never do these things, unless they were miserably poor, unless they were in that state of abject poverty, which precludes instruction, and by destroying all hope for the future reduces man like the brutes, to seek for nothing beyond the gratification of present wants.'

Such was a picture of real life, some eighteen or twenty years ago, in a country where manufactures are protected by a system, which is held up to us for our admiration and as our exemplar. It is of importance to ask, how far this protecting system attains its end? Our readers will bear in mind, that the decline and ruin of some branches of our manufactures, at the close of the war, were ascribed—constantly, passionately ascribed—to the want of protection. Let us now see

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how the case stood in England at the same time. Our extracts are somewhat long; but they will reward the patience of the reader.

'*Extract from a Letter written by a Resident at Cosely, near Belston in Staffordshire.*

'When some of our principal iron works first failed, the whole extent of the consequent distress was not immediately apparent. The poor manufacturers had many of them made a little money; this with the greatest frugality did not last long; when expended they ran in debt, wherever they could gain credit; and when they could not be trusted any longer, they pawned or sold their furniture, article after article, till they had none to sell. When their goods were gone, they were obliged to have recourse to their parishes and to begging. The parishes were overwhelmed by the numbers applying for their aid, and could afford but little comparative support. The community in general (for commercial districts are usually generous) made great efforts to relieve their distresses. For my own part, I determined that I would fare harder, and that my children and household should do so likewise, in order to minister to their wants; and it was my desire that none, worthy of relief, should go away from my house unrelieved. It is true the succor was but small; and they asked for nothing but a piece of bread, and bread for some time great numbers of them received; but I soon found that my very limited income, arising chiefly from uncertain sources, would not even furnish this scanty supply, and I was reduced to the necessity, to me a most painful one, of confining my charity within much smaller boundaries. Companies of five, or eight, or twelve manufacturers, able and willing to work, have been many times in the course of a day at my door, soliciting bread, and what has often cut me to the heart, necessarily soliciting in vain. Multitudes went through the country, offering to work at anything, merely for a little food, not even expecting wages, and thus gained a little temporary employment and subsistence; but still their wives and children were at home, in the greatest possible distress.

'Within a small distance of my house is a large iron work, the machinery of which extends for nearly half a mile. It was a noble manufactory. I passed by it one morning, after its operations were suspended, and was exceedingly affected with the sight. A little before, it was all animation and industry, affording the honorable means of livelihood to many thousands of my fellow creatures. The silence that now pervades it spoke more eloquently and impressively to my heart, than any language could possibly do; it was the silence of unmingled desolation. I visited a row of houses occupied by the workmen; the doors were used to be open, in-

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viting the eye of the stranger to glance as he went along at their neatness, cleanliness, and felicity; little groups of healthful children were accustomed to appear about the cottages, full of merriment and joy, and the inhabitants, strong and healthy, saluted you as you went by. But the scene was lamentably changed, it produced a melancholy on my spirits, that I did not lose for a considerable period, the cottages were closed, the inhabitants could not bear to have it known that they were stripped of their little ornaments, no children played around the doors, the very plants trained up in their windows had pined and died, one man only appeared, emaciated and ghastly, a living spectre, as if the peaceful sepulchre had sent forth its inhabitants to fill with terror the abodes of the living. When I have told these poor creatures, that the parish must find them food or labor, they have replied, "Sir, they cannot do either;" and some who have fared the best, when our manufactories were flourishing about us, have said, "we would rather die, sir, than be dependent on the parish."

'It is an unanswerable proof of the excellent disposition of these poor manufacturers, that although there are many thousands of them in the most distressed condition imaginable, there is very little depredation in the country. If it will aid you in your benevolent designs, I will go through any part of our neighborhood, from house to house, and give you a particular statement of the circumstances of each family. The labor will be to me a delightful remuneration; doing good I have long found to be its own reward. I would devote any portion of my time to procure you information. Some, I believe, have really died of starvation; and in many cases, if not the *immediate*, it was the *primary* cause. An insufficiency of wholesome nourishment, where they had been accustomed to great abundance, produced diseases, which terminated in dissolution.

'Even *charity*, sir, has left some of our districts. She has given all she had to give; the stream of her benevolence is dried up, and nothing remains but the grateful recollection of the channel through which it flowed, or emotions of despair lest it should never again be replenished. I could send you many individual cases that come under my personal knowledge. *Not far from my house, a respectable individual, possessed of extensive information in the iron trade, who had been a confidential foreman in a large concern, and lived in much credit, has been for some time, with a wife and eight children, destitute of a sufficiency of bread.* Many poor families, distinguished for their sobriety and industry, with five, six, seven, or eight children, are in the same disastrous circumstances. I have, myself, repeatedly saved a man, his wife, and six children, from absolute starvation, who were reduced to eat the cabbage stalks, and the refuse of their little cottage garden, as the only food they could obtain.'

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In the month of October of the same year, 1816, the iron manufacturers, in one district in Wales, to the number of ten or twelve thousand, traversed the country begging bread and cheese, but refusing beer, 'lest in their intoxication they should do what they would afterwards be sorry for.' We have no space for further details of their sufferings, but beg leave to present our readers with a view of the condition of the cotton manufacturers in England in 1818. For this purpose we lay before them 'the cotton spinners' address to the public,' in August, 1818.

'We, the Mule cotton spinners of Manchester, consider it a duty incumbent upon us to address the public, at the present juncture, to contradict the many false statements and misrepresentations, that have appeared in the public papers.

'We are stated in all the papers to have turned out for an advance of wages, this we admit to be in part true, but not absolutely so. Two years ago, when our employers demanded a reduction of ten hanks, they affirmed that the state of the market imperiously called for such reduction; but when the markets would admit of an advance, they would willingly give it. We depended on their honor, and continued to labor for more than twelve months at the reduction proposed. About ten months since, on comparing the price of cotton and yarn, we found that the markets would allow our employers to fulfil their promise; we therefore solicited them to that purpose, and only wished to be reinstated in the same prices we worked at, previous to that reduction. Some declared they could not give it; others they would not, but the greater part, that they would, if others did, but they should not like to be the first. Thus we continued working and soliciting for the last eight months, though the demand for yarn has been unprecedented, and the consequent rise in twist great; they have still refused our just request; and in order to cause a belief that trade was in a declining state, gave notice that they should only work three days in the week, which appeared so extremely ridiculous, that the very children employed in the factories laughed at it.

'It is asserted that our average wages amount to thirty or forty shillings per week. It is evident that this statement was made by some individual either ignorant or interested. In 1816, the average clear wages of the spinners in Manchester was about twenty four shillings. They were then reduced from twenty to twenty five per cent, and have ever since labored under that reduction, and it is to be remarked, that spinners relieve their own sick, as well as subscribe to other casualties; therefore, when their hours of labor, *which are from five in the morning to seven in the evening*, (and

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in some mills longer) of unremitting toil, in rooms heated from seventy to ninety degrees, are taken into consideration, we believe the public will say with us, that no body of workmen receive so inadequate a compensation for their labor.

'The next thing we would advert to is, our employers have asserted, that if they submit to our present request, which they admit is reasonable, it would not be long before we demanded another advance of ten hanks more. Whatever some individuals may have said, we know nothing of, but the great majority of spinners have never said or intended any such thing. And we hereby declare, "that we are willing to enter into a treaty with our employers on fair and honorable terms."

'We believe there is no species of labor so fraught with the want of natural comforts, as that the spinners have to contend with; deprived of fresh air, and subjected to long confinement in the impure atmosphere of crowded rooms continually inhaling the particles of metallic or vegetable dust, his physical powers become debilitated, his animal strength dwindles away, and few survive the meridian of life, and the grave is often the welcome asylum of his woes. His children! but let us draw a veil over the scene, our streets exhibit their cadaverous and decrepit forms, and any attempt to describe them would be impossible.

'Let it not be understood that we attach blame to our employers as applied to these calamities; they are perhaps inseparable from the very nature of the employment, and our masters may lament but cannot redress them. All we ask is a fair and candid investigation into the grounds of our complaints, and we are confident that both justice and humanity will decide in our favor.

'We solemnly declare, as fathers, as men, as loyal subjects, and well wishers to a constitution, the spirit and letter of which will not countenance anything like slavery and oppression, *that we cannot obtain, with the greatest possible industry, the common comforts and necessaries of life at the present low prices.* To labor hard is not an easy task, but to labor hard and want is impossible. Let our masters consult their own hearts, and as the seat of justice and humanity, they will not long hesitate to grant our just request.'

We appeal to such of our readers as are conversant, even with the English newspapers, to bear us out in the assertion, that volumes of details like these might be collected. It is therefore only in the heat of argument, that propositions like the following could be advanced by such men as Mr Clay.

'The views of British prosperity, which I have endeavored to present, show that her protecting policy is adapted alike to a state of war and of peace. Self poised, resting upon her own internal

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resources, possessing a home market, carefully cherished and guarded, she is ever prepared for any emergency. *We have seen her coming out of a war of incalculable exertion, and of great duration, with her power unbroken, her means undiminished.* We have seen, that almost every revolving year of peace has brought along with it an increase of her manufactures, of her commerce, and, consequently, of her navigation. We have seen that, constructing her prosperity upon the solid foundation of her own protecting policy, *it is unaffected by the vicissitudes of other states.* What is our own condition? Depending upon the state of foreign powers—confiding exclusively in a foreign, to the culpable neglect of a domestic, policy—our interests are affected by all their movements. Their wars, their misfortunes, are the only source of our prosperity. *In their peace, and our peace, we behold our condition the reverse of that of Great Britain,* and all our interests stationary or declining. Peace brings to us none of the blessings of peace.'

We confess we perceive none of the facts, by which this comparison is borne out; nor by what possible agency a tariff of duties, either in England or America, can be depended on to prevent immense distresses on any sudden change either from peace to war, or war to peace. Such a transition must always produce vast and sudden fluctuations in the market, and against these changes what tariff can protect us?

The extracts we have already made are sufficient preparation for the remark, paradoxical as it may seem, that all the protection extended by the foreign governments held up to our imitation has not produced the prosperity of manufactures themselves, considered as one of the branches of the national industry. It might be taken as one proof of this, that, with the extraordinary growth of manufacturing industry in England, for the last half century, *pauperism* has kept equal pace, and has, within the last generation, been carried to a height unexampled and truly appalling. It is easy to deny this to be the effect of any necessary connexion between the things, and yet those, who deny it, may safely be challenged to point out any other cause. The factories create a demand for a large quantity of manual labor of the very lowest kind. It is well known, that a few weeks are sufficient to train most of the laborers employed in spinning cotton, and the exercise of intellect in this occupation is almost nothing. Labor of this kind *must* be miserably paid. Mere hand labor is very little

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higher in the order of things than machine labor. A living machine endued with a grain of intellect is needed; no more. This is the kind of population, which manufactures tend directly to introduce; and it needs not be said, that it is a wretched population at best, exposed on every fluctuation of the market to be thrown out of employment, and ill fitted for any other.

But without urging this point, and allowing that in this respect things may possibly be somewhat more prosperous in America, we still maintain that there is not a country in the world where the great manufactures, those most protected, flourish. By a flourishing manufacture, in any valuable sense of the term, we mean one that supports the working class in decent competence. In almost every branch of manufactures, in every country, the wages of labor, like the wages of sin, is death; and we may well add with Dr South, poor wages it is that will not keep a man alive. The cloth, the cutlery, is good, and much is made, and it sells to profit, and the proprietor of the factory flourishes and grows rich, but what becomes of the manufacturer? Is it flourishing to weave and spin sixteen hours in the day on wages so confessedly inadequate, as to require from the overseers of the poor an additional shilling per week, for every child with which the miserable father is cursed? The manufacture of muslin flourishes, we suppose, in India, where those who weave it sit up to their armpits in water, twelve hours in the day, and are paid with a cup of rice. The Osnaburghs of Westphalia are woven by the poor peasantry of that country, who live in cabins, to which the meanest log hut in America is a palace. Is this flourishing? The manufacturers of iron in Russia and Sweden earn seven cents a day. Is this flourishing?

Why do not the friends of the tariff, who admire the foreign protecting policy, imitate it in its prominent parts? There are in many of these countries, and have been in all, laws regulating the wages, which shall be paid to workmen in the different trades. Let them apply to Congress for a law, that the laborer shall be paid but seven or eight cents a day. This will go effectually to the case, and enable the American undertaker to meet the foreign commodity. The mere smallness of wages, moreover, is but one only of the ingredients in that system, which we are taught to admire and strive to in-

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troduce. Seven cents a day in a country, where one hundred and twenty thousand men are serfs on the estate of one landholder; where it is the proudest privilege of the human stock, that it cannot be sold without the soil; seven cents a day in such a country may be very tolerable wages. It will buy a man a little meal and a little lard for his food, and a piece of coarse tow or woollen cloth for his clothing, and with this he is amply provided. A few shillings a week may be very tolerable wages in a country like England, where the people, as a mass, have no voice in the government, where a great inequality of rank and power is an acknowledged and recognised part of the system, at which no one murmurs; where the honors, the prizes of life, with some few exceptions, that prove the rule, are placed at a hopeless distance from all competition on the part of the laboring classes. But this is all different here. A manufacturer's vote is as good as his employer's. He expects to dwell, not in as good a house, and also in none of your Manchester cellars, but in an exceedingly comfortable tight tenement. On Sundays, he expects to wear very nearly as good a coat and hat as his rich neighbor, and to see his wife and daughter in a cambric or a silk. If either of his boys is at all clever, he expects to send him to the grammar school in the town, or the next academy, to prepare for college and receive an education, that shall fit him for the highest places of professional respectability. The wages of the manufacturer must be calculated on this scale; they must support, not a degraded, brutified vassal, but a reflecting, aspiring man, a freeholder, a voter, a constituent of those, who make the laws and who govern the country.

The English system of eking out the laborer's wages by the contributions of the overseers of the poor and the parish officers will not do here. The elder and graver laborer will not seldom be a deacon and an overseer himself. The system of eating meat once or twice a week only will not do here; our manufacturers will take no protection, which does not protect them in a hearty dinner of meat every day, with enough left cold to come handsomely upon the table the next morning at breakfast. The manufacturer here is surrounded by a different class of men, from those about him there, and he must live accordingly. He is not surrounded by an humbled tenantry, who if they possess not each an annual income of one

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hundred pound, cannot shoot a partridge even on a field they might own in fee simple; and who if they be not freeholders have no votes in the election of those, who are to make the laws. Our factories will be principally filled by the daughters of very respectable farmers, who come for a few years to earn a sum of money toward a virtuous and honorable establishment in life. The system must become corrupt sooner than we think it possible in the American community, or it will be long before our factories resemble the English. We have as good proofs as the circumstances of the case admit, that more than one cotton factory in that country unites within its walls a greater complication of human vice and suffering, than can elsewhere on earth perhaps be found; the liberty of a prison, the leisure of a workhouse, the health of a hospital, and the chastity of a harem. This will not do here. Our manufacturers will have more moral as well as physical oxygen in their atmosphere. Till the friends of the tariff policy can produce us an example of a manufacture abroad, which comes up to the American notions of the condition of those, who, doing the work of society are entitled, if not to its luxuries, at least to its comforts, we shall persist in saying that manufactures do not flourish abroad.

In the next place, while we are zealously quoting the example of foreign nations in this system, the statesmen of England are acknowledging its vicious principle, and, as fast as circumstances admit, are changing it for a more liberal one. The proofs of this position in Mr Webster's speech are so ample, confirmed as they have been by every subsequent arrival from Europe, that we shall not dwell on the topic. It is with pain that we see the Chairman of the Committee reasserting that no proof was found of this proposition, beyond a few detached speeches; and repeating what we must needs esteem the paltry suggestion, that this change of doctrines was only deceptively proclaimed in order to mislead foreign nations. We will only ask what the American public would think and say, if the chairman of an important committee of the House of Commons in England, should intimate that one of the cabinet officers of America, in the deliberate commendation of any particular policy, had no object but to deceive foreign governments into an adoption of it?

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The last remark, which we have to make on the subject of imitating the foreign policy is this, that if no other reason existed why it could not or should not be imitated; if all that we have said to show that the system does not attain its objects abroad were groundless; it would still remain true, that in the most important circumstance bearing upon this subject, the position of America is so different from that of Europe, that her example cannot wisely be followed by us. We refer, of course, to the abundance and cheapness of land here, and to its scarcity and dearness in Europe. This point would admit a very copious illustration, but we will try to respect the patience of our readers. We would only observe that the least parallelism exists between that foreign country and ours, where the greatest has been alleged by the friends of the tariff, viz. between Russia and America. Russia is indeed vast, but that is not enough to produce a resemblance with America. By the latest authorities, the mass of the civilised population, that is, the population exclusive of Cossacks and Tartars, in European Russia, presents the enormous contrast of twenty four millions of serfs, bought and sold with the soil, and less than two millions of all classes of free population. In 1783 the number of free male persons was one million eighty four thousand four hundred and eighty six, and the number of male serfs, eleven million three hundred and fifty two thousand eight hundred and forty two. It is plain that, in such a state of things, though the Russian government could add to its possessions, already sizeable, those other wide tracts, which captain Symmes has discovered in its neighborhood, no encouragement could result to settlement, and no comparison be authorised in this respect between Russia and the United States.

Our limits do not permit us to engage in anything like a discussion of the general question of the tariff policy, and we shall only trespass farther on the reader's patience, with a cursory notice of a few separate arguments.

It is objected, and of course with justice, to the tariff policy, that its immediate effect is to give the domestic manufacturer the monopoly of the fabric. To this, however, the friends of the tariff reply, that this effect is only temporary, and that the speedy and final effect will be, by drawing capital into the protected manufacture, to destroy monopoly and

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bring the price down to its natural level, and a sentiment pretended to amount to this has been quoted a few hundred times from general Hamilton's Report. The delusion, however, is so gross, that we can scarce suppose any one should be the victim of it himself, or impose it on another. Nothing is more true than that competition will soon destroy the monopoly, which those manufacturers possess, who are at work when the foreign article is shut out; but will it destroy the monopoly of the American manufacturer as such? Will not the whole supply be engrossed by him? But still we are told capital will flow in to the employment if profitable, and the price will come down to the *natural level.* No doubt, to the natural level of this country, and no lower; and this natural level in America will, in almost every article, be higher than the natural level in England, or France, or Russia, and for the reasons of which we have given some above. It will be as much higher, as capital is less abundant, land plentier, the style of living and place in society better among the American than the foreign manufacturers. In short, the country will be permanently taxed a sum amounting to all the difference of the cost of producing an article in this country and bringing it from abroad. And this, for a long time, will be considerable in most articles, and in some it will be always greater or less, unless we are hereafter to have our happy country filled up with the mournful spectacle of an English, French, or Russian peasantry.

Another argument made use of by the friends of the tariff policy is, that the manufacturing interest requires that protection, which, in the form of discriminating duties, has been extended to the shipping interest, till lately in both branches, and still in the coasting trade. This argument, however, assumes what we can never allow to be a fact, that these discriminating duties were intended merely to secure to the navigation of the country the supply of the demand for water carriage. As it is the great end of the English navigation act, so it has been the true policy of our discriminating duties, to nourish the mercantile, for the sake of the naval marine. It ought to be put on no other ground, and it can be defended on no other. If there were any reasonable probability, that the naval strength of this country could be kept in a condition, required by our safety and honor, without that encouragement

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of our shipping, which the discriminating duties afford, they ought not to subsist one hour. These duties are defended on precisely the same ground as the establishment of national factories for the supply of arms, and on the principle that the public defence must be secured at any sacrifice.

For ourselves, we can truly say, that we think the principle laid down in the much quoted letter of Mr Jefferson to the late Mr Benjamin Austin, the sound principle; and by no means at variance with the passages in the Notes on Virginia, which it was intended to modify or explain. Prove of any fabric that it can fairly be called a necessary, or comfort of life, for which the country is dependent on a foreign and unfriendly nation; prove that it is essential to the honor and independence of the country, that it flourish on our soil, and we should be the first to protect it up to the prohibition of the foreign article. For all the rest, we think that private judgment should be the guide. We have no doubt that the home market is the better market; and as little that the nation is the richer, for the greater variety of employments pursued by its citizens. But we maintain, that these cannot be profitably introduced by legislative enactments; that neither in the form of a tariff, nor in any other form, is it in the power of Congress to enact the country into riches, faster than the natural course of industry, and the natural increase of capital can acquire them. And above all, we strenuously deny, that the country can become rich by compelling consumers, (the great mass,) to pay a greater amount of their labor or its fruits for the same necessary or convenience.

Meantime the republic is safe. The bill as it passed is divested of many injurious provisions; and if it had not been, had it passed as reported, the country would still be safe. It would in that case have been our opinion, that a majority of Congress, and by inference a majority of the citizens had willed an injudicious law; a law laying a heavy tax, without any general advantage. But that would not ruin us; nothing, while our free institutions remain, can fatally affect us. Neither foreign hostility, domestic feuds, nor legislative errors, can fatally injure us, while the representative system exists in its present purity. We may commit errors, and pay dearly for them, and doubtless shall. But if a law is pernicious it will soon be repealed, and though repealing a bad law does not

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always undo its bad effects, nor take place without new sacrifices, yet that is a truly enviable condition of human existence, where either errors will not be committed, or the power of correcting them is in the hands of those who suffer. The American nation is in that condition, and before it can cease to be so, many things worse than a heavy tariff must be borne; and when it ceases to be so, the liberty of trade will not be worth saving.

Art. XIII.—MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

1.—*Boston Prize Poems, and other Specimens of Dramatic Poetry.* Boston. 1824.

This little work comprises a selection from the poems, presented during the last winter to the managers of the Boston Theatre for the prize, proposed by them on the occasion of a Jubilee in honor of Shakspeare. Several of these compositions are very respectable; and the Ode marked No. 1, may be thought by some not to fall far short of that which obtained the premium. Mr Sprague, the successful candidate, gained the prizes both in Philadelphia and New York, for the best prologue on the opening of the theatres lately erected there. We believe that there were more than twenty candidates in each of these cases. The chance is against any man's writing good poetry upon a trite subject, and one not selected by himself. But to have succeeded thrice in such a trial is more than could be expected to happen to any poet. There is good fortune as well as desert in it; the judges may be all men of discernment; but there is such a difficulty in coming to an agreement in matters of mere taste, and the standard is so loose and various, that the chances of repeated success are much against any one individual, whatever may be his talents.

The Ode of Mr Sprague opens with an invocation to the 'God of the glorious lyre.' The second stanza setting forth the invasion of the northern barbarians is highly picturesque.

> Fierce from the frozen north,
> When havoc led his legions forth,
> O'er learning's sunny groves the dark destroyers spread;
> In dust the sacred statue slept,
> Fair science round her altars wept,
> And wisdom cowled his head.

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'In dust the sacred statue slept' is objectionable from its obscurity. It cannot without violence be applied to 'Learning,' which is personified as a living being in the preceding line, as are Wisdom and Science in the two lines immediately following. The closing lines more than redeem this slight error. Learning retreating into the Monasteries, is finely expressed by 'Wisdom cowled his head.' The poet next describes Apollo as descending upon the shores of the Avon;

> There, on its bank, beneath the Mulberry's shade,
> Wrapped in young dreams, a wild-eyed minstrel strayed,
> Lighting there and lingering long,
> Thou didst teach the bard his song;
> Thy fingers strung his sleeping shell,
> And round his brows a garland curled;
> On his lips thy spirit fell,
> And bade him wake and warm the world.

The verse which paints the charms of a romantic solitude,

> Where beauty's child, the frowning world forgot,
> To youth's devoted tale is listening,
> Rapture on her dark lash glistening,
> While fairies leave their cowslip cells and guard the happy spot,

presents one of the most pleasing and artless pictures in the whole Ode.

The purturbed slumbers of Richard the Third are filled with poetical and sombre images.

> Mark the sceptred traitor slumbering!
> There flit the slaves of conscience round,
> With boding tongue foul murders numbering;
> Sleep's leaden portals catch the sound.
> In his dream of blood for mercy quaking,
> At his own dull scream behold him waking!
> Soon that dream to fate shall turn,
> For him the living furies burn;
> For him the vulture sits on yonder misty peak,
> And chides the lagging night, and whets her hungry beak.

The prophetic truth of the vision is finely expressed by the line

> 'Soon that dream to fate shall turn.'

The remainder of the stanza is too much crowded with unwieldy epithets and useless allegory. 'The God of slaughter guides his reeking axle over spouting trunks;' the 'panting tyrant scours the field, until he is met by vengeance with his dooming blade.' &c.

The concluding verse,

> And Hate's last lightning quivers from his eyes,

is nervous but not natural.

In the following stanza, which describes Lear exposed to the fury of the night storm, we have an affecting picture of him mourning over the dead body of Cordelia.

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Yet one was ever kind,
Why lingers she behind?
O pity!—view him by her dead form kneeling,
Even in wild frenzy holy nature feeling.
His aching eyeballs strain
To see those curtained orbs unfold,
That beauteous bosom heave again,—
But all is dark and cold.

The fourth line, 'even in wild frenzy' &c, has the same beautiful idea, though not so obviously expressed, with one in a former poem of Mr Sprague, which obtained the prize at Philadelphia. Speaking of a love crazed maiden he there says,

Round some cold grave she comes sweet flowers to strew,
And *lost to reason*, still *to love is true*.

At the conclusion of his verses upon Lear, the poet breaks off into a bold apostrophe to his own Muse.

Down trembling wing—shall insect weakness keep
The sun defying eagle's sweep?

The principal defect in the poem is a want of perfect ease and simplicity. A rich and warm fancy is felt throughout the whole of it, but instead of richness we sometimes find an accumulation of cumbrous epithets; and its energy appears sometimes to be owing to unnatural effort. Although this straining may add something to the force of the expression, it is apt to diminish its grace and natural beauty.

We have perhaps been hypercritical in some of these comments. We should not have been so, had the general merits of the Ode been less. It has found great favor with the public, to which it is justly entitled by its lyrical animation, its elevated conceptions, and the warm coloring given to them by an active poetical fancy. We trust Mr Sprague's muse will not require in future the stimulus of theatrical competition to bring her before the public. A writer, who, like him, has it in his power to raise our poetry to a higher character, we should hope would feel himself under strong obligations not to suffer his talents to lie unemployed, or become lost to the literature of his country.

The poem immediately following Mr Sprague's in this selection has many passages of dignified and quiet beauty. Shakspeare opening the scene with the magic wand of Prospero is a conception the more happy, as the Tempest was probably the first play in which he displayed his dramatic talent.

But none had won the high award.
Then rose in might old Avon's bard.
Glancing his heavenward eye, he waved his hand,
And struck the scene with Prospero's powerful wand.
Lo, to the magic touch all nature yield!
The secret forms that unknown worlds concealed,

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The fairy ring, the witches cave,
The sacred mysteries of the grave,
At his command came visibly to light;
The spirits in air and sea that dwell,
Or lie within the cowslip's bell,
In clear and bodily shape, salute the astonished sight.
Then burst the applauding shout from all around;
The hills and heavens resound
With Shakspeare's name,
And on his brow descends the wreath of living flame.

The pictures of Ophelia and of Cordelia are full of natural pathos.

But when the Bard of Avon touched the string,
And bade the love lorn, crazed Ophelia sing,
Rehearsed the sad, sweet tale of Juliet's charms,
And placed Cordelia in the old king's arms,
Every heart dissolved in grief,
Tears burst from every eye;
And nothing, save one deep and general sigh,
Broke the long pause in which they sought relief.
Sublime that stillness of the countless crowd!
When myriads spake not, moved not, nor aloud
Vented their feeling; but, in sobs suppressed,
Calmed down the heaving tumult of the breast.

We have not room for farther extracts. The remaining pieces possess very different degrees of merit. Some of them afford glimpses of a just poetical feeling, while others seem to have been written without the aid, and sometimes we should fear without the entire approbation of the muse.

2.—*Arguments against the Justice and Policy of Taxing the Capital Stock of Banks and Insurance Companies in the State of New York.* 8vo. pp. 34. New York. 1824.

Whoever would see the arguments against the justice and policy of taxing moneyed institutions briefly and forcibly stated, will find it done with much ingenuity and ability in this pamphlet. The author arranges his arguments with method and clearness, and reasons well from his own principles. In some of the more important of these, however, we do not agree with him. He makes actual property, as lands, houses, merchandise, the *only* basis of taxation; and hence he infers, that paper capital, being no more than the representative of these, or, as he calls it, the mere sign of credit, ought not to be taxed. That is, no man ought at the same time to be taxed for actual property, and the representative of

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that property, or the credit which rests on it. This is said to be double taxation, equally unjust and impolitic.

But however this principle may apply in any particular case, we think it can by no means be considered general and fundamental. Why does a legislature claim the right of taxing any kind of property? Is it not because it protects such property in the hands of the owner, and ensures him facilities of employing it to advantage? Now if this same legislature grants him other privileges by which he may be equally benefited, why should he not pay an equal tax on these privileges? In other words, why is not *credit*, as such, a proper subject of taxation, when this credit has been created and is sustained by the legislature which imposes the tax? If a company of individuals may establish a bank by legislative grant, and thereby have the means of raising their credit and of making a profit, which they could not before make by any private disposition of their property, why should they not pay a tax on this credit? There may be cases in which it would be inexpedient to levy such a tax, but we can see no injustice in it. As far as we can discern, it is strictly just for a legislature to tax any species of property, whether real or nominal, lands, stocks, or credit, whenever the current value of these kinds of property is founded on privileges granted and protected by the same legislature, or whenever the possessors derive a profit, which they could not have derived except by these privileges. As banks, and other moneyed institutions chartered by legislatures, are to be ranked under these conditions, we see no reason, either in right or justice, why they should not be taxed. Policy and expediency may doubtless sometimes render such a measure unwise, but this point we are not about to discuss.

It is not a legitimate inference to say, as has been intimated, that this principle would allow a legislature to tax credits of every description existing in the common intercourse of society. It is true, that all credit is remotely founded on the confidence, which one man puts in another by reason of the security given by the laws to property, and of the validity of contracts which they establish. But the difference between this kind of credit, and that created by privileged institutions, is so strongly marked as to make it impossible that they should ever be confounded. The former is a credit, which every citizen is equally aided by the laws in acquiring, whereas the latter depends entirely on special grants of the legislature in favor of particular individuals; and on this ground alone, they may properly be taxed for their exclusive advantages.

We have only to add, that we do not perceive much weight in the argument drawn from an imaginary legislative power over a man's profession and pursuits. It is said, that a man's intellect

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might as well be taxed, as his credit. So it might, if the legislature could supply one as easily as the other. Here is the difference, and it is enough to show, that there is no parallel in the examples. If a man could become wise, learned, and skilful, by legislative acts, and should thereby have it in his power to gain more than his fellow citizens, who had not been thus favored, he might with great propriety be taxed in exact proportion to the wisdom, learning, and skill thus obtained by legislative charter. Till such an instance occur, the argument will be without premises and without point.

3.—*Elements of Geography, Ancient and Modern; with an Atlas.* By J. E. Worcester, A. M. Stereotype Edition. Boston. Cummings, Hilliard & Co. 1824.

Sketches of the Earth and its Inhabitants; with one Hundred Engravings. By J. E. Worcester. 2 vols. 12mo. Cummings, Hilliard & Co. 1823.

These works are already so extensively known, and so generally used, that our testimony to the fidelity and industry with which they are executed can be of but little importance. It is known, that Mr Worcester has long devoted himself to geographical pursuits, and he has obtained of the public such success, as his diligence and accuracy have merited. Perhaps there are no subjects on which it is so difficult to avoid occasional inaccuracies, as those connected with political geography. In many countries there are no means of collecting information on statistics; in others all knowledge of this kind is carefully retained by the governments. Besides this, the compiler must depend on the reports of others. Though he may not himself be credulous, his judgment may often be led to adopt opinions, to which the credulity of the travellers, on whom he relies, may have given currency.

The study of geography is an important branch of education. It enlarges the understanding, and gives it a wider range. While historical pursuits teach the mind to go back into distant ages, and thus prevent it from being contracted and limited by the present moment, the study of the earth and its inhabitants raises it above the equally narrow limits of place, and opens sources of various and improving observations on the different aspects of nature and of man. Whether we consider this study, as having for its object a knowledge of the world in its present condition, or to lay the foundation for the pursuits of history, it is desirable at first to direct the mind of the learner to physical geography. The great features of Nature must be distinctly observed; and by these we

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mean, primarily, the ridges of mountains, next the rivers with their courses, and the slope of the land, and then the seas, gulfs, and oceans. We believe it would be productive of great advantage, if maps or a globe were exhibited to the pupil, without a name of a country or a town, but showing the earth, as it exists, independent of social divisions. This branch of geography, which appears to us as a necessary preliminary to the easy and successful study of the political divisions, is capable of being much more simplified, than it has yet been done in our elementary works. To those, who are desirous of seeing the subject treated in a philosophical manner, by a scholar of eminent learning and unwearied industry, may be recommended the Physical Geography of Professor Charles Ritter of the royal military school at Berlin, as a work full of original and trustworthy researches and views, calculated to excite and to gratify curiosity, and as the most elaborate and careful production on the department of knowledge to which it belongs.

Mr Worcester's geography appears to us a most excellent manual. It is concise, well arranged, free from redundancies and repetitions, and contains exactly what it should, a brief outline of the natural and political characteristics of each country. We could have wished to see a general sketch of the natural features and divisions of the earth included in the introductory matter, but are not disposed to question the propriety of the author's judgment in omitting it. The tabular views are of great value, for they assist in forming the habit of comparison, and are also of advantage to the memory, by associating many similar facts in classes. A very concise abridgment of ancient geography is annexed, and this is peculiarly serviceable to those, who are afterwards to be introduced to history, while it can be omitted by such as have no interest in antiquity.

We might be charged, perhaps, with want of discrimination, were we to speak so decidedly in favor of the 'Sketches.' A work like this, embracing so many topics, must in the nature of things possess different degrees of merit in its different parts. It may be good as a whole, and imperfect in some of its particulars, and in this light we regard the present work. All that relates to natural curiosities, the descriptions of remarkable monuments and works of art, rivers, mountains, lakes, and the striking geographical features of the earth, is highly important and valuable, and well adapted to the instruction of the class of pupils for whom the work is designed. But we have less confidence in those parts, which speak of the manners, customs, and habits of civilised and uncivilised nations. Where manners and general character are in their great outlines so similar, as they are in all nations, which possess European culture, it is but promoting a superficial acquaintance with them to bestow general censure and praise, to give pictures of

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Italians, and Frenchmen, and Englishmen, and Germans, as if they did not all dress very much in the same way, and look very much alike. Little information is communicated about the English, when they are spoken of as reserved, or of the Italian, when he is called licentious and perfidious.

We object, therefore, to some of the chapters, which are entitled 'Inhabitants, Manners, and Customs.' We see no reason for putting in school books, that the Canadians sometimes boil water in a frying pan, [vol. I. p. 41.] or that the sovereign people of these New England States do, in the large towns, breakfast on bread and butter, [p. 67,] and that the ladies are characterised 'by sweetness and gentleness, blended with sprightly energy.' This is no doubt very true, but hardly suited for the edification of boys at school. When it is said, moreover, that among the Germans, 'the lover scarcely ever approaches the object of his affection but with a pipe in his mouth,' the ludicrous is carried too far. The account of the French would seem to have been copied from some prejudiced writer. They are characterised as 'a gay, lively, volatile people; more influenced by sentiment and passion than by sedate judgment; impelled by the ideas of the moment, without regard to the probable consequences; generally destitute of fixed principles of morality and virtue; floating between superstition and infidelity; and exhibiting amidst the most temperate habits in ordinary life, a warmth and vehemence, at which cool observers are surprised and disgusted.' [vol. II. pp. 11, 12.] This mode of describing the character of a whole nation at a dash is very objectionable, for although it may communicate some accurate impressions, it scatters censure and reproach with a less discriminative hand than strict justice would seem to require.

But notwithstanding these defects, many of which, perhaps, it would not be easy to avoid in a work necessarily founded on the authority of others, we consider the 'Sketches' well suited to give a large fund of entertainment and information to the youthful mind.

4.—*Prose by a Poet.* 2 vols. 12mo. Philadelphia. Abraham Small. 1824.

These little volumes are understood to have been written by Montgomery, and they partake strongly of the spirit and manner, which characterise the poetical compositions of their amiable author. They display the same depth of feeling and delicacy of sentiment, the same sprightliness of fancy and felicity of thought, and the same mellowed tone of quiet sadness, which communicate

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a charm to his other writings. The author's mind is of a peculiar cast, but it is the mind of a poet, and of one who has learned

> 'To look on nature—hearing oftentimes
> The still, sad music of humanity,
> Nor harsh nor grating, though of ample power
> To chasten and subdue;'

a mind, which has known the 'joy of elevated thoughts,' and felt

> 'A sense sublime
> Of something far more deeply interfused,
> Whose dwelling is the light of setting suns,
> And the round ocean, and the living air,
> And the blue sky, and the mind of man,
> A motion and a spirit that impels
> All thinking things, all objects of all thought,
> And rolls through all things.'

The style, manner, and subjects of the volumes before us fully illustrate the title. Several of the pieces are wrought up with happy flights of poetical conception, sometimes perhaps a little too fantastical, yet always sprightly and well sustained. We would name the 'Life of a Flower,' and the 'Moon and the Stars,' as among what we deem the author's most successful efforts, and as being marked with the traits here mentioned. On some occasions he is playful and witty, as in his 'Journal at Scarborough;' and we suppose he meant to be so in 'Pen, Ink, and Paper,' which is among the best of the pieces. He has two or three specimens of poetry in rhyme and measure, but these will have few admirers compared with some of the others, which are clothed in the dress of a graceful, easy, simple, and perspicuous prose.

5.—*A New General Atlas, comprising a complete Set of Maps representing the general Divisions of the Globe; together with the several Empires, Kingdoms, and States of the World; compiled from the latest Authorities, and corrected by the most recent Discoveries.* Philadelphia. Anthony Finley. 1824.

The number of elegant maps and atlases, which have come from the press within a short time in the United States, is a most flattering proof of the increased attention of the community to the important study of geography, and of the liberal enterprise and zeal of our publishers and artists. The present work is very much on the plan of Mr Lucas's splendid Cabinet Atlas, which we noticed in our last number. It contains sixty maps, about half of which are devoted to the American continent, and the remainder to other

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parts of the world, chiefly to Europe. Considerable care seems to have been taken to delineate with accuracy the features of the United States, and to supply the deficiencies of previous works as far as the means of knowledge would allow. There is a table of the comparative heights of mountains, and another of the lengths of rivers; and the collection as a whole is sufficiently extensive and minute to serve the purposes of general reference. The engraving is done almost uniformly with remarkable distinctness, and the face of the maps is frequently beautiful, not overloaded with a confusion of useless names, nor disfigured with imaginary mountains and crooked streams. The marks of taste and careful execution, which are seen in a large proportion of the maps recently published, are worthy of the highest commendation.

6.—*Hobomok, a Tale of Early Times.* By an American. pp. 128. 12mo. Cummings, Hilliard & Co. Boston. 1824.

This tale displays considerable talent, which we hope will be again called into exercise. It embraces a period soon after the settlement of New England, and the events of the story take place chiefly in Salem and Plymouth. The principal characters, some of which are historical, as Governor Endicott, Lady Arabella Johnson and her husband, are generally very well conceived and supported; the sketches of society and manners are drawn with a faithful hand; the incidents are detailed with a truth and spirit, which give animation and interest to the story. The author has an eye for the beautiful and sublime of external nature, and a heart for the tender and generous traits of the human character.

In many respects this little work is calculated deeply to engage the feelings, and in some parts it possesses considerable pathos. We regard it, however, rather as an earnest of what the author can do, than as a performance from which he can promise himself much reputation. With all its merits it has defects, which prevent it from leaving, upon the whole, a favorable or a pleasing impression. We think it a fault in the plan of so short a work, that it introduces so many characters and incidents not immediately connected with the main object; they do not sufficiently bear upon that which is the principal business of the piece; they do not contribute to advance the action, but rather divert the mind, and weaken the interest by multiplying the objects of the attention. It spreads over too wide a field; it consumes, if we may use such an expression, too much historical material for a tale of this kind. We are persuaded the author of Hobomok would have succeeded better had he made it entirely a work of fancy, so far as characters and inci-

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dents are concerned, and merely attempted to illustrate the circumstances, situation, and manners of our forefathers and the aborigines, and the scenery of our country. As it is, there is a want of unity, which prevents a sustained and continued interest. There is a great number of particular passages, which by themselves have every requisite of a fine novel, but they fail as parts of a whole. In general, we believe, it will be found that the most interesting narrations are those, which are minute in the detail of events and conversation, and which embrace but a small portion of time; those in which all the circumstances cluster around a few characters, producing a single and concentrated interest.

To our minds there is a very considerable objection to the catastrophe of this story. A high born and delicate female, on the supposed death of her lover, has, in a fit of insane despondency, offered herself as the wife of an Indian chief, and has become such, according to the customs of his nation. She lives with him three years, and an infant semisavage is the offspring of the union. At the end of that time, her white lover returns; her copper one with great magnanimity relinquishes her and departs, and she is married to the former. Now this is a train of events not only unnatural, but revolting, we conceive, to every feeling of delicacy in man or woman.

We may appear perhaps to have found more to blame than praise in this tale; we do not wish to leave this impression. Its excellencies outweigh its faults. We have been more particular in speaking of the latter, because we hope to hear again from the author, and feel assured that they are only the results of inexperience in this kind of writing; that the author may amend them and at the same time retain all the other qualifications for a good writer, which are here exhibited.

We regret that the article, which we have before promised, on Mr Phillips' work on the Law of Insurance, was not received in time for the present number.

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QUARTERLY LIST OF NEW PUBLICATIONS.

AGRICULTURE.

Touches on Agriculture, including a Treatise on the Preservation of the Apple Tree, together with Family Recipes, Experiments on Insects, &c. &c. By the Author of the Description of Brunswick and the Towns in Maine.

ARTS, SCIENCES, AND PHILOSOPHY.

Silliman's American Journal of Science and the Arts. No. 1. Vol. VIII. for May, 1824.

The Washington Quarterly Magazine of Arts, Science, and Literature. Vol. I. No. 2.

The plan of this work is so excellent, and the facilities for carrying it into effect so abundant in the city of Washington, that it comes before the public with very high claims to respect and patronage. In the prospectus the editor states his purposes as follows.

'It is proposed to give authentic specifications of patents obtained for useful discoveries, and improvements of machinery in the United States; extracts from similar publications in England, containing accounts of the most recent and valuable discoveries in that country. These communications will be accompanied with plates illustrative of their subjects. Notices of new publications, on subjects connected with the various branches of national industry, will also form a regular part of the work. The editor also relies with confidence on an extensive correspondence, for original communications on these topics.

'Abstracts of such acts of Congress as relate to trade, agriculture, canals, and objects of general improvement, will be accurately given; and important national events chronologically recorded. Also an obituary of eminent characters in the various states of the Union; and a meteorological report.'

These objects are all highly important. The present number contains an article on Internal Improvements, and another on Improvements in Naval Architecture. It also contains several drawings of machinery, two of which are illustrative of an apparatus invented by Mr Samuel Brown for propelling vessels without steam. These drawings are from the lithographic press of Mr Henry Stone of Washington, and we are glad to see this art, which has been carried to such perfection in Europe, making some progress in our own country.

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Timber Merchant's Guide; also a Table whereby at one View may be seen the Solid and Superficial Measure of any square or unequal hewed Logs or Planks from one to forty seven Inches; also Plates representing the Figures of the Principal Pieces of Timber used in building a seventy four Gun Ship of the Line, in Standing Trees. By Peter Guillet. Baltimore. 1823. James Lovegrove. 8vo. Price, $2,50.

The Boston Journal of Philosophy and the Arts. No. VI.

This number closes the first volume of the Boston Journal, which has continued for one year, and put the public in possession of a large mass of most valuable information on various topics of science and philosophy. In their selections from foreign journals the editors have been peculiarly judicious, both in regard to the intrinsic value of the articles selected, and their adaptation to the wants and state of intelligence in this country. We can safely say of this work, that we are not acquainted with one, pursuing similar objects, whose contents are of so uniformly high a character; which is marked with so much of the dignity and usefulness of science, mingled with so little of merely temporary moment and interest.

The original articles have much value. The accounts of the Fossil Bones of the American Mammoth, and of the Egyptian Mummy and Methods of Embalming, contain many curious facts on interesting subjects. There are also original articles on topics of mineralogy and geology, natural history, and on inventions and machinery.

In the fourth number of the work is a 'Narrative of an Ascent to the Peak of Misté,' by Samuel Curson, Esq. This Peak of Misté is a volcanic mountain in Arequipa, Peru, which, considering its surprising height, seems hitherto to have been little known. In the year 1796, according to Mr Curson's Narrative, this mountain was ascended to its summit by Thaddeus Haenck, a Bohemian naturalist in the service of the king of Spain. By trigonometrical measurement in the plains of Arequipa, Haenck ascertained its height to be 20,328 feet above the level of the sea, which is 1430 feet higher than Catopaxi, and only 1112 feet lower than Chimborazo.

Humboldt and Bonpland ascended Chimborazo in the year 1802 to the elevation of 19,400 feet, which has been reported to be the highest point of ascent to which any person had at that time attained. But it appears, that Haenck was on the summit of the Peak of Misté six years before, and at an elevation of 1928 feet greater than that attained by Humboldt and Bonpland. The ascent of Mr Curson was made from the city of Arequipa on the 27th of October, 1811. He reached the crater of the volcano, but not the summit of the mountain, which is 600 feet higher; and accordingly, the highest point to which he ascended was 19,728 feet, being 328 feet higher than that of Humboldt and Bonpland at Chimborazo; and 4063 feet higher than the summit of Mont Blanc, which is the most elevated point in Europe. We present these ascents in one view below.

Haenck's ascent - - - - -	20,328 feet,	in the year 1796
Curson's - - - - - - -	19,728 - - - - -	1811
Humboldt and Bonpland's - -	19,400 - - - - -	1802

Mr Curson's Narrative is minute, and presents us with an animated description of the various scenes that awaited him, in his perilous excursion up and down the mountain.

Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. Vol. III. Nos. 12, 13, 14.

DRAMA

Blackbeard. A Comedy in Four Acts. Founded on Fact. By Lemuel Sawyer. Washington. Davis & Force.

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EDUCATION.

Gramática de la Lengua Castellana adaptada á toda Clase de Discípulos, á todo Sistema de Enseñanza, i al Uso de Aquellos Estrangeros, que deseen conocer los Principios, Bellezas, i Genio del Idioma castellano. Compuesta por Mariano Cubi i Soler. Baltimore. 1824. J. Robinson. 12mo. pp. 220.

In this little work, it is the design of the author to embrace within a small compass all the particulars most essential in learning the Spanish language. He arranges his subjects in four divisions, namely, Orthography, Etymology, Syntax, and Prosody. The materials are brought together in a natural and lucid method, and the rules, although concise, are perspicuous and comprehensive. Under the head of Prosody the author treats of the principles of pronunciation with precision and distinctness, and also of the peculiar power of several letters of the alphabet, as used in the Spanish language. The table of irregular verbs is remarkably full and well arranged, and will afford much assistance to the learner.

The Elementary Reader; being a Collection of Original Reading Lessons for Common Schools. By Samuel Whiting, Esq. Author of Elegant Lessons, &c. Newhaven. T. G. Woodward & Co.

A Specimen of the American Pronouncing Spelling Book; or Sure Guide to the True Pronunciation of the English Language. By Abner Kneeland. Philadelphia.

A New Treatise on the Use of the Globe, with Notes and Observations containing an extensive Collection of the most Useful Problems. By James M'Intire Baltimore. 1823. J. J. Harrod. 12mo. pp. 220.

Sketches of the Earth and its Inhabitants, comprising a Description of the Grand Features of Nature, &c. Illustrated by one hundred Engravings. By J E. Worcester. 2 vols. 12mo. Cummings, Hilliard, & Co.

An Introduction to Ancient and Modern Geography. By J. A. Cummings. Ninth Edition.

An Easy Introduction to the Study of Geography. By Thomas T. Smiley.

HISTORY.

Collections Historical and Miscellaneous, and Monthly Literary Journal. Vol. III. No. 6. Concord, N. H.

This publication continues to possess much interest from the curious facts, which it brings to light, respecting the first settlement and early history of New Hampshire. The number for June contains an article entitled 'Historical Notices of Newspapers published in New Hampshire,' and another entitled 'Biographical Sketches of the First Class graduated at Harvard College,' both of which are curious and entertaining. There must, of course, be a limit to materials of this sort, but till the sources become exhausted, we hope the proprietors of this work will be encouraged to keep it up with the same spirit and industry, which have hitherto characterised their exertions.

Notes on Mexico, made in the year 1822, accompanied by a Historical Sketch of the Revolution, and Translations of Official

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Reports on the present State of that Country; with a Map. By a Citizen of the United States. Philadelphia. Carey & Lea, 8vo. pp. 359.

The United States' Naval Chronicle. By Charles W. Goldsborough. Vol. I. 8vo. pp. 395. Washington.

LAW.

Reports of Cases argued and determined in the Superior Court of New Hampshire. Vol. II.

Private and Special Statutes of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. From February 1806 to February 1814. Revised and Published by authority of the Legislature, in conformity with a Resolution, passed 22d February, 1822.

A Practical Treatise upon the Authority and Duty of Justices of the Peace in Criminal Prosecutions. By Daniel Davis, Solicitor General of Massachusetts.

Reports of Cases Argued and Determined in the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts. By Octavius Pickering, Counsellor at Law. 8vo. pp. 580. Wells & Lilly.

A General Abridgment and Digest of American Law with occasional Notes and Comments. By N. Dane, LL. D. Vols. II, III.

MEDICINE.

The Art of Preserving Teeth. By Nathaniel Peabody. 8vo. Salem.

An Anniversary Discourse delivered before the Medical and Chirurgical Faculty of Maryland, Tuesday, June 3d, 1823, on Medical Improvement. By Patrick Macauly, M. D. Baltimore. F. Lucas, Jr. and E. J. Coale. 8vo. pp. 38.

Medical Recorder. No. XXVI.

The Journal of Foreign Medicine. Edited by John Godman, M. D. No. XIV. pp. 184.

Anatomical Investigations, comprising several very interesting Discoveries relative to the Formation of the Capula Ligaments of the Joints. By John Godman, M. D. 8vo. 10 plates. Carey & Lea.

MISCELLANEOUS.

An Address delivered before the American Academy of Fine Arts. By Gulian C. Verplank, Esq. New York.

The Seventh Annual Report of the American Society for Colonizing the Free People of Color of the United States; with an Appendix. Washington. Davis & Force. 8vo. pp. 26.

Fifth Annual Report of the Directors of the New York Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, to the Legislature of New York. January 1st, 1824. E. Conrad. New York. 8vo. pp. 26.

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The Virginia Housewife. By Mrs M. Randolph. 12mo. pp. 225. Davis & Force. Washington. Price $1, half bound.

The Two Americas, Great Britain, and the Holy Alliance. Washington. 8vo. pp. 37.

A Collection of Affidavits and Certificates, relative to the Wonderful Cure of Mrs Ann Mattingly, which took place in the City of Washington, D. C. on the 10th of March, 1824. James Wilson. Washington. Price 25 Cents.

Catalogue of the Library of the American Philosophical Society, held at Philadelphia, for promoting Useful Knowledge. Published by Order of the Society. Philadelphia. 8vo. pp. 290.

The Philosophical Society has set a most worthy example to our library companies and literary institutions in every part of the country. It has arranged and printed in a commodious form a full and most excellent Catalogue of the Library in the Philosophical Hall. The committee appointed for the purpose, and under whose immediate inspection the work has been accomplished, were Mathew Carey, Adam Seybert, Peter S. Duponceau, and John Vaughan. The work discovers very great diligence and fidelity on the part of the committee, as well as skill and philosophical discrimination in arranging the materials. In this latter respect there is some peculiarity. This shall be explained in the words of the committee.

'It was found impossible to adopt a uniform method throughout, and although it might appear like a novelty, the committee thought it best to arrange the books under each division according to a method suited to the respective subjects. Thus the memoirs and transactions of learned societies, are classed in the order of the names of the places where those institutions are established, as London, Paris, Philadelphia, alphabetically. Biographical works follow each other in the same order, by the names of the distinguished men whose lives and actions have been thought worthy of being recorded. Historical documents, and books and pamphlets on local and occasional politics, are classed in the order of their dates, certain medical treatises in that of the diseases that they respectively treat of, and Philological works auxiliary to the study of different languages, in the order of those idioms, alphabetically arranged. When no particular arrangment was required, the order of the author's names was followed, anonymous works, when sufficiently numerous, being separately classed. At the end of the whole is a complete alphabetical list of the names of the authors, whose works are contained in this catalogue, with references to the pages where they are to be found.'

Although this arrangement is novel, it requires but a slight inspection of the work itself to perceive, that it is clear and methodical, and admirably adapted to answer the end for which it was intended. Any work in the library on any subject may be found with the utmost facility. The committee express a generous motive for their undertaking, namely, 'that those students, who may wish to avail themselves of our collection, may see at one glance all that we possess relating to the subjects of their particular researches.' This is a truly liberal purpose, one that looks to the improvement of science and the good of the community, and we cannot but hope, that other institutions will feel the importance of the same design, and imitate so good an example. Our libraries are not so numerous or full, but that a student in any part of the country will often find within his immediate reach but scanty means of extensive research. The advantage to him will be incalculable of having copious and perspicuous catalogues of the principal libraries in the country, that he may know at once all the principal sources of knowledge to which he can have access. It is a subject demanding more serious attention, than most persons are apt to imagine.

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The United States Literary Gazette, No. V. June 15. 4to. Published twice a Month.

A work, like the present, professing to communicate all the prominent particulars respecting the progress of our literature, has long been desired in this country. None of our journals have accomplished, or even attempted this object. It is a task of no easy achievement, especially where, as in the United States, there is no central point to which literary intelligence will naturally flow, and where publishers have contracted so few habits of method and activity in making known through regular channels the works, which they send out. To overcome these obstacles requires enterprise and energy, and, what is more, patience and strength. If the Literary Gazette can be made a vehicle of *all* the literary intelligence in the United States, that is, if it can be made to contain a short notice of all the *original* works published, of improvements in science and the arts, of the doings of literary and scientific societies, of the progress of literary institutions, as universities, colleges, and seminaries of a high order for teaching the professions, if the leading particulars connected with these topics can be brought together, and reported with promptness while public attention is prepared for receiving them, the work cannot fail to come down to the interests and feelings of a very large portion of our reading community, and command a patronage coextensive with its aims and utility. A great deal of its value will depend on the certainty, that it embraces *all* the important intelligence on these subjects, which it is practicable to collect; and especially in regard to new publications, their purpose, character, and merits.

Thus far the work has been executed with ability, and with as much completeness, as to its main objects, as could be expected at the commencement of so arduous an undertaking. We hope the editor's attention will be directed as exclusively as possible to American books. Let his journal be a repository in which we may see how American talent is occupied, and in which its progress may be traced. Of the poetry, which he has published from the hand of Bryant, we need only say, that it is worthy of its author, and does credit to a name, which is destined to be engraven deeply in the recollections of future time, when America shall number up her sons of genius and of worth.

The typographical execution of this work is beautiful, and the publishers deserve much praise for their liberal exertions in sending it out clothed in so expensive and attracting a dress.

Essay to do Good; addressed to all Christians, whether in Public or Private Capacities. By Cotton Mather, D. D. F. R. S. A New Edition, from the latest London Edition. 12mo. pp. 150.

The Museum of Foreign Literature and Science, No. XXIII.

Port Folio for May and June, Nos. 265, 266.

A Review of the Correspondence between the Hon. John Adams, late President of the United States, and the late W. Cunningham, Esq. beginning in 1803, and ending in 1812. By Timothy Pickering. Also a Second Edition. Price 62 1-2 cents.

American Monthly Magazine. No. VI. 8vo. pp. 96.

Readinger Magazin. Nos. 4, 5, 6.

NOVELS.

Hobomok; a Tale of Early Times by an American. 12mo. Cummings, Hilliard, & Co. Boston.

Saratoga; a Tale of the Revolution, 2 vols. 12mo. Boston.

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O'Halloran, or the Insurgent Chief. An Irish Historical Tale of 1798. By the Author of the Wilderness. 2 vols. 12mo. Philadelphia. Carey & Lea.

Sketch of Connecticut forty Years since. A Tale. Hartford. 12mo.

Redwood; a Tale. By the Author of A New England Tale. 2 vols. Price $2.

POETRY.

The Henriade of Voltaire, translated into English Verse. By a Citizen of Carolina. Cantos I and II. New York. R. J. Megarey. November. 1823. 12mo. pp. 80.

Regular Hymns on a great Variety of Evangelical Subjects and Important Occasions, with Musical Directions for all the Varieties of Appropriate Expressions. By Samuel Willard.

A Collection of Fugitive Poems. 18mo. pp. 74. Price 37 1-2 cents. J. Mortimer. Philadelphia.

POLITICS AND COMMERCE.

Letters in Defence of the Hartford Convention, and the People of Massachusetts. By H. G. Otis. 8vo.

Speech of Mr Webster on the Tariff, delivered in the House of Representatives of the United States, April, 1824.

Arguments againt the Justice and Policy of Taxing the Capital Stock of Banks and Insurance Companies in the State of New York. 8vo. pp. 34. New York. 1824.

Suggestions on the Canal Policy of Pennsylvania, in Reference to the Effects of the Inland Navigation of the adjoining States on the Commerce of Philadelphia. With Facts and Computations relative to the Commerce of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal. By J. L. Sullivan, Civil Engineer. 8vo. pp. 50.

THEOLOGY.

A Collection of Essays and Tracts in Theology. By Jared Sparks. No. VI. Containing Biographical Notice; Remarks on the Writings of Dr Cogan; Letters to Wilberforce on the Doctrine of Hereditary Depravity.

A Discourse Pronounced before his Excellency William Eustis, the Honorable Council, and the two Houses composing the Legislature of Massachusetts, May 26, 1824, being the Anniversary Election. By Daniel Sharp, Pastor of the Third Baptist Church in Boston. Also a Second edition.

A Discourse on the Proper Test of the Christian Character, delivered at the Church in Brattle Street, Boston, on the Lord's Day, March 21, 1824. By Henry Colman.

The Christian Repository. Vol. V. No. 1.

Unitarian Miscellany. Baltimore. Nos. 40, 41, 42.

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The Christian Examiner and Theological Review, for March and April. No. II.

Proof that the Common Theories and Modes of Reasoning respecting the Depravity of Mankind exhibit it as a Physical Attribute, with a View of the Scriptural Doctrine relative to the Nature and Character of Man, as a Moral Agent. New York. 8vo. pp. 104.

Religious Principle the Foundation of Personal Safety, and Social Happiness; a Sermon preached at Concord, on the Day of the Anniversary Election in the State of New Hampshire, June 3, 1824. By Bennet Tyler, D. D. President of Dartmouth College. Concord. J. B. Moore. pp. 31. 8vo.

The Religious Monitor, No. I. Albany. 8vo. pp. 40.

The First Annual Report of the Seaman's Union Bethel Society of Baltimore. May, 1824.

A Plea for Ministerial Liberty. A Discourse addressed by Appointment to the Directors and Students of the Theological Seminary of the Presbyterian Church at Princeton, on the 17th of May, 1824. By John Duncan, Pastor of the Presbyterian Church, Tammany Street. Baltimore. Cushing & Jewett. 8vo. pp. 71.

A Careful and Free Inquiry into the True Nature and Tendency of the Religious Principles of the Society of Friends, commonly called Quakers. By William C. Brownlee, A. M. Philadelphia. J. Mortimer. 8vo. pp. 303. Appendix. pp. 31.

Minutes of the Baltimore Baptist Association, held in the Meeting House of the Ebenezer Church, in the City of Baltimore, May 13th. 8vo. pp. 8.

The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, with References and a Key Sheet of Questions, Historical, Doctrinal, and Practical. By Hervey Wilbur, A. M.

Sermons and Plans of Sermons, on many of the most Important Texts of Scripture. By the late Rev. Joseph Benson. Baltimore. Armstrong & Plaskett. 12mo. pp. 302. J. D. Toy, Printer.

An Exhibition of Unitarianism, with Scriptural Texts. pp. 35. Greenfield.

Sermon delivered at Worcester at the Dedication of the New Meeting House, erected for the Use of the Calvinistic Church, and the Society connected with it, October 13, 1823. By Samuel Austin, D. D. pp. 23.

Sermon on Intemperance; delivered at the North Church in Newburyport, on the Occasion of the Public Fast, April 1. By L. F. Dimmick. pp. 30.

Recollections of Jotham Anderson, Minister of the Gospel. Published from the Christian Register. pp. 118.

Sermons by the late Rev. David Osgood, D. D. 8vo. Cummings, Hilliard, & Co.

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The Berean, No. V. Mendenhall & Walters. Wilmington, Del.

The Cabinet, or Works of Darkness brought to Light, being a Retrospect of the Antichristian Conduct of some of the Leading Characters in the Society called Friends, towards that Eminent and Devout Servant of the Lord, Elias Hicks, when on his last visit of Gospel Love to the Inhabitants of the City of Philadelphia. 8vo. pp. 60.

Isaiah's Message to the American Nation; a New Translation of Isaiah, Chapter 18. By John M'Donald. Albany. 12mo. pp. 110.

Sermons for Children; designed to promote their immediate Piety. By Samuel Nott, Jr. Vol. II. 18mo. pp. 160. New York. John P. Haven. Price 50 Cents.

TRAVELS.

A Journal of a Tour in Italy, in the Year 1821. With a Description of Gibraltar. Accompanied with several Engravings. By an American. 8vo. pp. 468. New York. Price $3.

AMERICAN EDITIONS OF FOREIGN WORKS.

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